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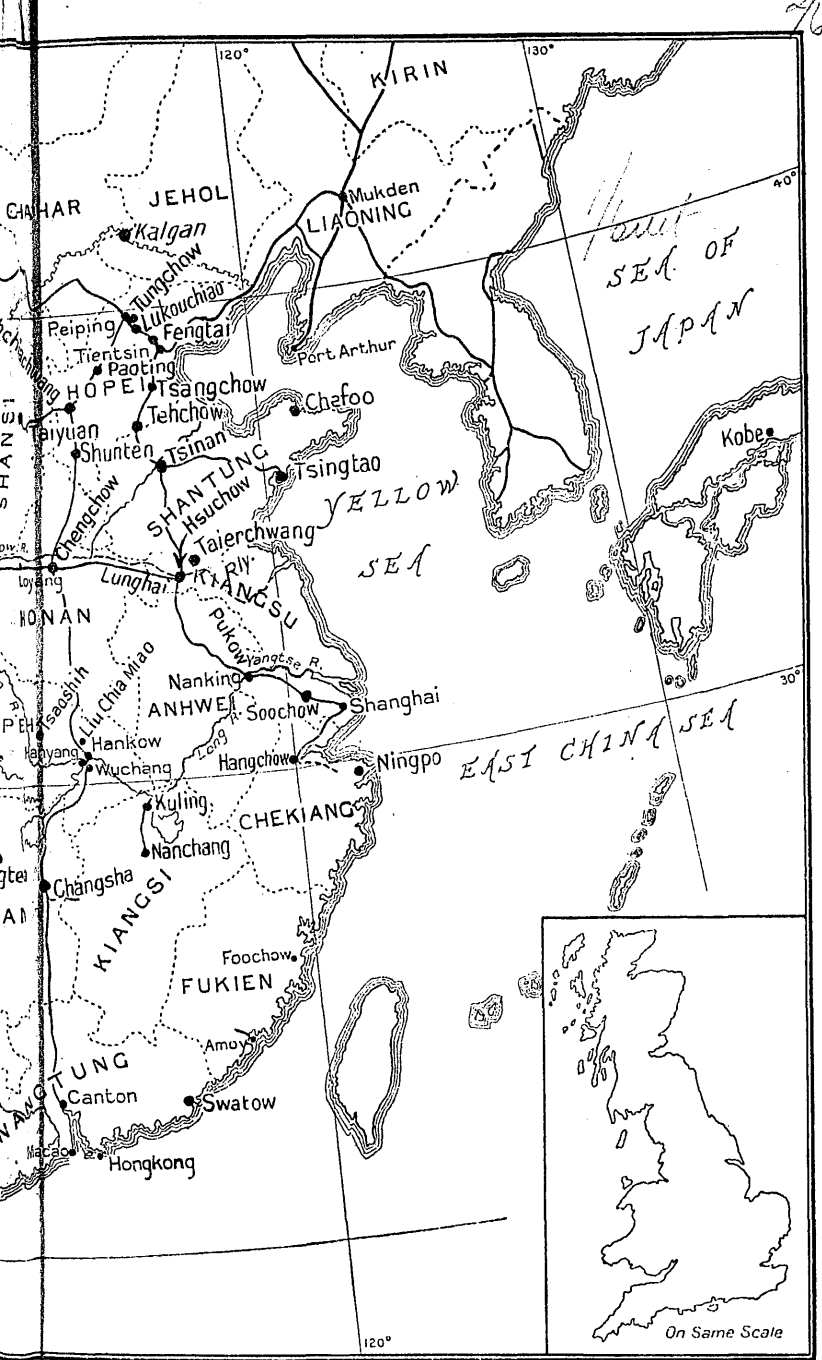
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CHRISTIANS IN ACTION

CHRISTIANS IN ACTION

A Record of Work in War-time China

BY

SEVEN MISSIONARIES

WITH A MAP

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

IN the hot days of July 1938 I was up to the eyes in all kinds of jobs, working with my colleagues in the threatened city of Hankow. A letter came from one of the contributors to this volume saying that he had been approached with the request for a book:

"... a short book on the way in which the Church in China is facing this present crisis, its daily life under war conditions, and the difference made to the outlook of the ordinary Chinese under the challenge of this crisis by whether they are Christians or not. We have heard here at home various rumours about the splendid forbearance being shown to captive Japanese by Chinese Christians, about their refusal to harbour vindictiveness when, heaven knows, they would have ample human justification. We have heard with pride and joy of General Chiang Kai Shek's tribute to missionaries who have refused to leave their posts and take refuge in Shanghai or Hong Kong. But what kind of work are they doing, and what sort of lives can they be leading now in the war areas? On all these vitally important matters the ordinary church people at home have not much more than vague impressions; some actual knowledge would be immensely valuable and only someone on the spot can give it."

In his letter my friend said he could not undertake this himself; would I feel like doing it, or did I know anyone who could?

As I was feeling busy and preoccupied at the time I put this letter on one side for a couple of weeks. Then

Miss Spicer arrived. She and a group of teachers and students had come round by Hong Kong and up by train to Hankow, and had to wait for passages on a steamer to take them up the Yangtse River to West China. We talked over this proposal. Neither I nor anyone else I knew seemed in a position to take on even a short book single-handed. But it occurred to us that half a dozen people might collaborate and each write a chapter. We might do together what none of us could do by himself. We selected a team. Letters were written. The scheme was approved in London.

This composite book is the result. What it lacks in unity it may gain perhaps in other ways, for it has a certain representative character. We come from different regions of China, the North and the South, East China and the central provinces. What is more important, two of my colleagues write from occupied territory while others describe conditions of life and thought in the free areas—or what were free areas when they wrote. It would have been very difficult for any one author to convey the inwardness of life in all these areas, because the deeper insights only come from experience, from living among people and being loved and trusted by them. That is given to those who make their home in one place rather than to the traveller.

It will be noted with appreciation that four contributors to this book are women. I believe it will be noted with equal satisfaction by British readers that two of our number are Americans. As Christian colleagues in China we think and feel alike on the larger issues with complete unanimity.

These chapters have been composed, I think without exception, under difficult conditions, a fact which will enable us to claim the indulgence of fastidious readers.

We have all been living for more than a year under the strain and absorbing preoccupation of war. Miss Spicer wrote on a crowded steamer between Hankow and Chungking; Mr. Ballou devoted a day to his assignment on a hurried trip he was asked to take from Peiping to Kobe; and Mr. Allen finished his work on a day's holiday (October 10th) travelling from Canton to Hong Kong two days before the Japanese landing that culminated in the fall of Canton. Miss Coxon stole some time from the crowded days of September in Hankow a month before that city fell, and Miss Vautrin wrote in the midst of inaugurating a winter programme of work in the occupied city of Nanking. Miss Galbraith devoted to her contribution part of a day in Changsha on which two air-raids, a couple of relief committees and the distressed Japanese lady of whom she speaks were competing for attention. My own editorial efforts have been pursued in occasional free times at night after very full days spent in a Shanghai office since my return from Hankow.

Our purpose throughout has been to record as faithfully as we knew the achievements and spirit of the Chinese churches during the past year of war. We harbour no bitterness against those who are inflicting all this cruel suffering. Sometimes there is deep divine indignation in our hearts, sometimes a choking grief as we think of this tragedy of war, so relentless and so unnecessary. But nothing we have written is meant to stir up hatred. Our only thought is to share with others what we have seen and experienced. Our Chinese Christian friends may not all be saints. Some are weak and struggling even as we. But there are mighty victories to record, and we give thanks and praise to God for what He has done and is doing in the Churches in China. Just because we who write are all missionaries from other lands, we can speak

more freely than any sons of China could have done about these things.

If I have spoken in too direct and personal tones in the epilogue the reader must forgive me. These are days in which we are all inescapably confronted with the Word of God.

RONALD REES.

Shanghai, 8th Nov. 1938.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS BOOK.

REV. GEOFFREY F. ALLEN (late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford) is on the staff of the Union Theological College, Canton, representing the Church Missionary Society. Author of *He that Cometh*, *The Courage to be Real*, etc.

REV. EARLE H. BALLOU (a graduate of Yale University) is on the staff of the National Christian Council, with special responsibilities in North China, where he is serving also as Secretary of the Congregational Churches of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

MISS WINIFRED COXON has been for many years in Hankow as a member of the London Missionary Society. She has served this past year as secretary of the Emergency Committee of the Wuhan Christian Churches.

MISS WINIFRED GALBRAITH, a graduate of the University of London, is on the staff of the Y.W.C.A. and has also been teaching in the I-Fang School founded by Miss P. S. Tseng. Her work is in Changsha, Hunan province, and she has travelled widely in Central China. Author of *The Dragon Sheds his Skin*, *Willow Pattern*; contributor to *The Times* and the *Spectator*.

REV. RONALD D. REES (a graduate of Oxford University) is on the staff of the National Christian Council which has its headquarters in Shanghai. During the year he has spent half his time in South, Central and West China. As a member of the Ambassador's Committee of the British Relief Fund and of the International Red Cross Com-

mittees at Shanghai and Hankow he has helped to administer relief in many areas of China on both sides of the line. He belongs to the English Methodist Missionary Society. Author of *Close Quarters* and *China Faces the Storm*.

MISS EVA DYKES SPICER (a graduate of Oxford University) has been for a number of years the representative of the London Missionary Society on the staff of Ginling College for Women, formerly at Nanking and now at Chengtu, in Szechwan province, West China.

MISS MINNIE VAUTRIN (a graduate of the University of Illinois and Columbia University) is also on the staff of Ginling College for Women, representing the United Christian Missionary Society (Disciples of Christ). She was Dean of the Department of Education up to the outbreak of war, when she elected to stay in Nanking, where she has been doing a remarkable piece of constructive and educational work among refugees and in the life of the Church.

I

THE GENERAL SCENE

RONALD REES

DURING the closing days of September 1938, the inhabitants of the British Isles were deeply stirred by the threat of war. What was threatened in Britain has happened in China. But in the absence of guns and a strong air force in China there has been little or no protection for defenceless cities. There has been no strong navy to protect her shores from the invading armies which have harried, burnt, raped, and plundered as they liked. In Britain a few hundred thousand people evacuated their homes, but were able to return after a few days. In China it is estimated that a hundred million have been uprooted and dispossessed, perhaps for ever, and at least a million done to death. The causes of this tragic conflict must be studied elsewhere, but the salient features of the first year of war may be set down in a paragraph or two, as a background for what follows.

On the night of July 7th, 1937, near Peking, the Japanese were conducting large-scale manoeuvres at Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge), with a county town, Wanping, as the hypothetical point of attack. Neither the Boxer Protocol of 1901 nor any other treaty gave the Japanese Government any right to station troops at this spot, which is well away from the city, south-west of

Peking, still less to hold manœuvres with large forces at night time. The incident came after a series of moves to isolate Peking by getting control of the two railways which enter it. Fengtai, which controls one railway, had been illegally occupied. Lukouchiao controls the other. On July 7th, according to one account, the Japanese alleged that one of their soldiers was missing and suddenly demanded that they be allowed to enter Wanping and search the town. According to another account the Chinese are said to have mistaken the sham attack for a real one. In any case the town was bombarded at 4.30 a.m. and by 9.30 in the morning the Chinese garrison had two hundred killed and wounded. From such a beginning the war started in North China.

Fighting in Shanghai broke out on an unlucky day, Friday, August 13th, and raged round that unhappy city until November 7th. Nanking fell on December 13th. Meanwhile the railways and strategic places in North China were being occupied. Hundreds of towns were bombed in any area that the raiders could reach, right down to Canton and inland as far as Hankow and Changsha. During the spring in spite of a stout resistance (especially at Taierchwang), the city of Hsuechow was finally captured (May 19th) and the Lunghai railway was occupied. But the attack on Chengchow was halted by the Yellow River floods in June. The Japanese then concentrated on the capture of Hankow by the Yangtse Valley route. However, Canton fell just after a campaign lasting only nine days (October 12th-21st). Hankow was occupied on October 26th.

This is a peculiar war. There is no front line that can be drawn continuously between the opposing forces, as there was a front line from the North Sea to Switzerland during the Great War. Further, it might be supposed

that Japan had occupied all North China, all East China up to Hankow, and all South China as far as Canton. Actually what they have occupied is a number of big cities and territory in ribbons along the lines of communication, the railways and rivers, to a distance of a few miles on either side. The Chinese civil and military authorities are in control of vast areas in between. Their guerilla forces operate up to the gates of Peking and Tientsin, Chefoo, Tsingtao and even Shanghai. In the provinces of Shansi, Hopei, and Shantung self-defence governments have been organized which maintain order, issue their own postage stamps and bank notes (some of which I have seen) and are said to be developing an increasing power of resistance in complete loyalty to the Central Government of China. No cities on the coast from Ningpo to Swatow (except Amoy) have yet been occupied. The fall of Canton and Hankow, while a serious blow to China, does not mean that half China is lost. This must be grasped if the real position is to be appreciated.

In another way this is a peculiar war. War has never been formally declared by either side. None of the Powers recognize the Japanese as having any belligerent rights. In fact nearly all (except Germany and Italy) have condemned her actions and protested against them. It is not unfair to say that what is being done is nothing less than an act of international banditry. Since the fall of Hankow fears are widely expressed that the British and other governments may bring pressure on China to accept terms which would recognize much of what Japan has done as a *fait accompli*—for the sake of peace. Not only missionaries, but British and other business men in China regard such a prospect as morally, politically and commercially disastrous.

In this tragic situation that has come upon us the

Christian Church has been confronted with a grave responsibility and a new opportunity. The Protestant denominations have a total communicant membership of just over 500,000 persons. If you add families and adherents the figure would be about one million. Even if the larger Roman Catholic membership of three millions is added, it will be clear that the Christian forces are only a small minority in a nation of 450 million people, less than 1 in 400. But their influence is out of all proportion to their numbers. The war has greatly increased that influence.

The National Christian Council (the N.C.C. as it is called) serves the Protestant Christian Churches; it is the organ by which they co-operate. As the war in the north gathered momentum in August 1937, I came down from Kuling, the summer resort in the Yangtse Valley, and got in to Shanghai three days after the fighting had begun as others of my colleagues were making their way in also by devious routes. The need for relief measures was only too clear in Shanghai, where nearly half the population of three millions were crowding into the central areas protected by the presence of foreign Powers. We promptly formed a War Relief Committee and appealed for support at home and abroad. Chinese churches from all over the country began sending in their gifts. From far away Szechwan province in the West they sent the unexpended balance of their famine relief funds to which the churches in Shanghai had previously contributed. They said, "Your need is now greater than ours". That was typical of the feeling of belonging to one another, of the desire to help, which has deepened all through the past year.

Churches in the West responded no less warmly, first in America with substantial gifts, then in Britain with the opening of the Lord Mayor's Fund in October 1937. The

knowledge that our friends were behind us and would stand by us to the end created a deep impression. The N.C.C. Fund was probably the first of all the relief funds to swing into action. Wherever there was need, the local Christian forces, Chinese and missionary, were promptly at work. They drew first on local resources and then appealed to the larger funds for help. It would be true to say that the larger proportion of gifts from the churches abroad have been administered through the network of Christian agencies to be found in every part of China.

The Christian hospitals (there are some 230 of them in China) have naturally been in the forefront of all this work. They have tended sick refugees, air-raid victims, and wounded soldiers. The following extract from the private letter of a missionary is typical of what many an inland city has witnessed. It was written in days of air raids and with many wounded soldiers coming in:

"Think of a city with a population of nearly 300,000, all beginning to put up their shop-shutters and run madly for shelter two or three times a day. It would stir the hearts of our Baptists at home if they could see the cheerful and effective service of our Baptist group working among these wounded who are horribly mutilated, sometimes with their wounds filled with maggots. . . . Nearly 40,000 wounded have passed here in eight weeks, most of whose bandages have been changed by Christian workers. . . . What a time to be in China! We are happy to be here where we are needed and where our services are warmly appreciated."

In war areas our hospitals have set aside a definite proportion of their beds for the wounded, by arrangement with the army medical service, receiving types of cases that needed treatment their better equipment was able to give. When the well-to-do residents in a city evacuated, hospital incomes slumped rather heavily, but British and

American relief funds have come to the rescue and saved the day.

International Red Cross Committees were formed in a number of centres, and through them Chinese and foreigners combined to meet the crisis. One of the largest was in Shanghai, under the chairmanship of Dr. W. W. Yen and with Dr. J. Earl Baker as director, which co-ordinated practically all the medical and relief activities in that city. Equally important has been the work of the International Relief Committee for Central China which has supported hospitals in some ten inland provinces. After war broke out it was difficult to get medical supplies from the coast. Dr. J. L. Maxwell, a medical missionary of long experience, acting as secretary to this Committee, organized a depot in Hankow on which they could all draw. About half the supplies coming out under the Lord Mayor's Fund from London have been allocated to Central China. In Hong Kong Dr. Montgomery of the Matilda Hospital and Mr. T. Low of the shipping firm of Butterfield and Swire, took delivery, sorted and often repacked all these supplies and then despatched the Hankow boxes by train. They entered China free of Customs duties and were carried without freight charges on the trains. Up to the closing of the line last October not a box was lost in all the bombing of the railway.

As I sat for some weeks on this International Red Cross Committee in Hankow and watched the men round the table at their work it was an inspiring sight to see the quality of personnel the committee was able to command—the Mayor of Hankow (Dr. K. C. Wu) as Chairman, the British and American Consuls-General (Messrs. G. S. Moss and P. R. Josselyn) as Vice-Chairmen, Dr. J. L. Maxwell the Secretary, Bishop Gilman, Rev. A. J. Gedye, Father Pigott, Father Rossato, Dr. H. O. Chapman, Dr.

H. T. Chiang, Messrs, A. E. Marker, Li Jui, Chambers Chow, Otto Klein, A. Linglez and others. They were a mixture not only of nationalities but of faiths. One thing this war has done. It has brought Protestants and Catholics into closer association than ever before. Personally I feel deeply grateful for the friendship of men like Father Pigott, Father Jacquinet de Besange and Bishop Galvin. I saw a good deal of the Bishop in Hankow. He had his bed and office in a small room of the community house where he was living with his fellow Irishmen. His spirit, like his way of life, has a simplicity and genuineness that I found most engaging. We found how much we both cared for fellowship across denominational boundaries. As I left him after a long talk one day I was moved to say (as one Methodist to a Catholic), "I have come to love you like a brother". He grasped my hand and said he felt the same.

During the writing of this chapter I have been to a Communion Service (I have a standing invitation) at Holy Trinity Cathedral here in Shanghai at which Bishop Lindel Tsen was celebrating, a Chinese priest ministering to an English congregation. Some of the old barriers are coming down. There never was a time when we were so united in spirit and action as in China to-day. I can think of no disturbing denominational rivalries and jealousies. When the pressure of war is removed we must not slip back but go on to further reunion and collective action.

This good spirit of unity has come to us from God, but we also worked for it. When fighting broke out in Shanghai mails were interrupted and the post office could not handle printed matter. How were the churches all over the country to keep in effective touch? We started broadcasting—a weekly bulletin of news of the churches with a message of encouragement ending in a few mo-

ments of quiet and prayer, given each Sunday night in Chinese and English by the National Christian Council. Colleagues over a wide area, from inland cities and holiday resorts, even from Korea, sent us such encouragement that the series of Talks was continued right through to the following June. After the first few weeks, as the Post Office found its feet, mimeographed copies were circulated all over China and to our friends abroad. These bulletins, though not broadcast, are still being circulated. In Hankow during the summer of 1938 we did the same thing, in this case using a station of the Ministry of Communications put at our disposal without cost and with complete freedom to say the things we wanted to say. These English talks were printed in the *Central China Post* each week and we were given as many "pulls" as we could use to send by mail.

As I and others have travelled during the past year we have found people hungry for news of their brethren in other parts. We would sit down together in little groups, and the visitor would tell stories and answer questions arising not just out of curiosity but out of the deepest sympathy, mixed with a desire on the part of those still "unoccupied" to learn how to meet the terrible problems of occupation. By such visiting as well as by broadcasting and literature, the sense of belonging together in one Christian fellowship throughout the country has been given us—a fellowship of love and prayer, of mutual support and action.

Nor have we forgotten our oecumenical fellowship. It was a great disappointment that the world conference of the International Missionary Council in December 1938 had to be transferred from Hangchow to Madras. But in spite of the immense preoccupations of war China promised she would loyally co-operate. We have seventeen

missionaries and forty Chinese on our list of delegates. At the time of writing there are still three weeks before the steamer sails. Some may be prevented by urgent responsibilities or increasing difficulties of travel. But it is almost certain that China will have an outstanding group of able and deeply interested men and women, perhaps the largest single delegation travelling to India. In Madras the Chinese and Japanese Christian leaders will meet. Let no one think it will be a simple thing for either group even in that atmosphere. It is sometimes easier to pray for your enemy than to talk with him. Some of us hope and believe that leading Japanese Christians will be found to be not enemies but allies in opposition to a common enemy. It is the Church against the world. But even that is not simple. We feel a strong bond of fellowship with the Confessional Church in Germany, but what if German Christians defend the Hitler policies? Many Japanese Christians defend the war with China, just as Chinese Christians defend resistance against Japan. Should we say to both sides, "Give up your defending and confess your sins", or is there a real issue of righteousness and truth involved? How can we be humble and loving and œcumenical without running away from these issues? That is and will be our problem, and only the Grace of God can guide us by painful surrender of mind and spirit into His Kingdom of love and truth. We need the prayers of the whole Church universal.

In the chapters that follow the kind of part that missionaries are called on to play in China will be abundantly clear. When the war began the question was raised as to whether missionaries should evacuate from places of danger. It was understandable that a foreign government should not want to have their nationals in embarrassing places. But the missionary community lost no time in

making up its mind. It was obviously right to evacuate mothers and children or those who could not stand the strain for physical reasons. The rest said quite plainly that they were going to remain and stay by their Chinese friends—"We share our work in peace-time, why should we not share it in time of danger?" If there were time to tell them, there are magnificent stories of heroism and courage. In some cases women have stood up alone and faced the invaders; Miss Vautrin, who writes in this book, was struck by a Japanese officer in Nanking. In hundreds of places the missionary compound has been the one place of security for the civilian population against rape and murder.

There has been another result which was not foreseen. As one Chinese business man bluntly put it, "What the missionaries have done in staying by to serve the people will do more good for Christianity in China than ten years of preaching." This must not be taken to reflect too severely on our preaching. It is the reaction of a practical people to our humble attempts to live the Gospel. They have seen our faith demonstrated in ways they can understand, which is the most powerful kind of witness to its power. Madame Chiang Kai Shek took occasion to express the warm appreciation she and others felt in words that have received wide publicity. Speaking at Wu-han on April 6th, 1938, she said:

"You know how missionaries have succoured the wounded, have helped our refugees and have faced the bayonets, cannons and bombs . . . and have stood their ground. The Generalissimo and I feel that no words which we could speak could sufficiently express our debt of gratitude to the missionary body all over China who have been a help to the distressed and the best of friends to the hundreds of thousands of refugees."

It has been somewhat embarrassing to find this warmth of feeling in so many quarters, high and low. A message from Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route (Communist) Army, has expressed also a generous appreciation for what missionaries have done and a desire to have their help. The opportunities that have come for directing men's eyes to Christ, the Author of all we have been able to accomplish, are also embarrassing in their profusion. But it is a source of deepest satisfaction to have the confidence of so many in China these days. I tried to express what we feel in a Broadcast Talk following Madame Chiang's speech and will venture to quote what I then said as I close this chapter:

"Those were very moving words that Madame Chiang used. I am not entitled to speak on behalf of the missionaries in China and I won't attempt to do so, but I think others will feel as I do, deeply grateful for the generous things she said, and very unworthy of them. We would like to turn it round and say it is our Chinese Christian friends, from the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang to the humblest Church member or boy scout, who have shown such magnificent courage and endurance and devotion. We missionaries have been deeply impressed and greatly strengthened by your spirit. Who of us could help admiring and loving you? It has been no hardship to stay with you. As Bishop Roots has put it: 'It is a privilege to be living in China these days'. We really feel that way from the bottom of our hearts."

II

IN NORTH CHINA

EARLE H. BALLOU

“Is Christian work any longer possible in North China?” This is a question which a visiting mission board secretary said he was often asked in the homeland. He put it to a group of church leaders with whom he met for a two-hour conference, asking them what sort of a reply would best convey a truthful impression. One man in the group stressed the difficulties under which all are now labouring, and the impossibility of carrying on some forms of work which were regular parts of the Christian programme sixteen months ago. All the others were emphatic that far from being impossible, Christian work—the Gospel, the appeal of Christ to men and women—was more possible, carried a richer content, and found a readier hearing, than for many, many years. A few days later he put the same question to another group of men and women responsible for church leadership in another part of the north where conditions were generally much more precarious than in the area served by the first group. The reply was almost exactly the same: to one or two people the obstacles, difficulties and disappointments loomed very large; to the majority, the great and effectual door of opportunity was swinging wider than they had ever seen it before—certainly than they had ever dared expect under the circumstances.

But when this one generalization is made, the rest of the picture is very confused. The catastrophe which has overtaken this part of China has been tremendous, but its effects are very uneven. The Christian movement, the Church in its varied outreaches into human life, has been affected in numerous and widely differing ways. If we limit our thought of North China to that area bounded on the west and south by the Yellow River, the reason for the varied consequences of the invasion, so far as the Church is concerned, lies partly in the simple facts of the past year's history. Considerable areas, including the cities of Tientsin, Peking, Changli and Tungchow, were occupied either without fighting or with a comparatively small amount of destruction, and the new type of "law and order" was quickly instituted. In parts of this section, particularly in what was under the control of the "East Hopei Autonomous Government", within recent months the Japanese influence has been largely destroyed, and turmoil is replacing the calm that prevailed all through the winter and early spring of 1938. Yet the description given above may still be considered to apply, and to date Peking and Tientsin have suffered only from innumerable rumours and occasional annoying restrictions.

Another considerable section was quickly occupied by the invaders during their rapid push into the interior, down the Tientsin-Pukow and Peking-Hankow railroads, and out along the line from Shihchiachuang into Shansi. Paoting, Shunte, Changte, Tsangchow, Tehchow, Tsinan and Taiyuan all fell with only a gesture of resistance, and all have remained within the sphere of fairly effective control. As the wave of invasion swept south and west, everything gave way before it. Roads were crowded with thousands of fleeing people, ditches were filled with precious things abandoned in the panic of flight, families

were separated, many of them not yet to be reunited, and the amount of human suffering was incalculable. Those who stayed behind and let the storm sweep over them met various fates. Death, violation, injury and complete escape were meted out by the hand of a Providence which must have often seemed not only inscrutable but unscrupulous. Yet sooner or later in these centres along the railway lines the power of life in China to adapt itself to an adverse environment was reasserted, and what astonishes a visitor at the present time is the degree to which a superficial normality has been restored.

Where missionaries rode out the storm they were able at once to begin relief work and to assist in the restoration of confidence among their neighbours; where for one reason or another they too withdrew before the advance of the invading armies, they have been able to return, often by very circuitous routes and after long delay. Property meanwhile had been looted, much wanton destruction indulged in, and colleagues scattered. But their work was not injured beyond recovery, and in a number of cases those who had caused the physical damage were willing to "contribute" something to the work for which they professed a great admiration, without acknowledging any responsibility for what had happened when they were the only forces in the vicinity.

Still another fate has been suffered by those areas which were occupied for a time by the Japanese, and then abandoned under the pressure of the increasing guerrilla activity of the late winter and spring. Few centres of missionary residence have been affected in this way, but many county cities, market-towns and walled villages where there are churches and school have suffered. Too frequently the withdrawal of the Japanese has meant a thoroughgoing sacking of the places they have left,

accompanied by fire and murder. In this category should also be included the almost innumerable towns and villages which have been the victims of the punitive expeditions sent out from the larger Japanese-garrisoned centres. A few truckloads of soldiers who have suddenly appeared in the centre of a defenceless community, have rounded up as many of the able-bodied men as could be seized, have murdered them in cold blood, have burned stores of grain, fodder, farm implements, and the combustible parts of houses—furniture, door jambs, window frames, roof rafters and thatch—and then departed, leaving a desolation which may have seemed to give them a promise of peace. These are the areas which have suffered most and where Christians and Christian activity have suffered with the common people. When farmers have ventured back to their homes, often in ruins, and have taken up the task of rebuilding and replacing what was so ruthlessly destroyed, if there were any Christians in the community they too have shared in the reconstruction.

One other section of North China must be mentioned: there are large areas in this region which at no time have come under Japanese influence. They still belong to "Free China". In them are some mission stations and many centres of Christian influence. They have contact with the occupied areas, but as time has gone on and the effective control of the Eighth Route Army* with its political as well as military organization has widened, these areas have tended to grow increasingly self-sufficient. This has meant a reversion in many respects to a type of economy which antedates the modern trend towards

* The Eighth Route Army is the name given to the former Chinese Communist Army, now incorporated in the National defence forces of the Central Government of China.

westernization. Yet the radio keeps them in touch with distant parts of the country, and the methods of patriotic education through slogans, drama, and high-pressure lecture teams, are modelled after the latest propaganda programmes of Russia and the West. Here life has a zest to it which is lacking in other parts of the occupied North; here there is real substance to the hope which is springing just now in so many Chinese breasts that a war can yet be won by the side which loses all the battles, and here people who are at once Christians and loyal Chinese citizens have a scope for their activities beyond anything possible, even furtively, in the rest of the North.

It is this area of the North under Central Government control which just at present is growing. The core of Shantung, Honan, Shansi and Hopei is Chinese; extensive regions have been added in the past six months to the sphere of effective Chinese influence, through the dissemination of the organizing activities of the main agent of the Central Government, the Eighth Route Army. Regions where the regular forces of political and social control disappeared, not from conquest but through the flight of officials who expected an immediate Japanese invasion which never materialized, have been reorganized; and the anarchy which filled the vacuum for a few months has been superseded by a type of government which is showing more interest in the welfare of the common people than has been known for many generations. Other border regions, including some of the sections so roughly handled by the Japanese when they found themselves unable to hold all that at first they had seized, have been included in the range of the influence of this "Border Government of Shansi, Charhar and Hopei", as it is called. The question which looms large in the mind of many observers, but which does not apparently yet disturb

those closest to the situation, is whether during the autumn and winter that is ahead, particularly if Hankow is to fall, there will not be a general and thoroughgoing attempt to reoccupy many sections lost since early spring, and to wreak a terrible vengeance on those centres from which the irritating tactics of the guerrillas have been planned and executed. If this should happen the Church in these areas would be among the social forces to suffer most.

It has been necessary to sketch in this general fashion conditions throughout the north in order to give an intelligent background for what may follow. There is one further generalization to be made: as the conflict has widened in scope and deepened in intensity there is not the slightest doubt as to the feeling of those Chinese who live in the occupied areas of the North. Nationalism is infinitely stronger and more widespread than it was when the trouble began. There is probably not so much of an increase in this feeling among Christians as among the general population, since Christians were already better informed on national issues and more pronounced in their attitude than the average Chinese. What needs to be kept in mind is that underneath the surface of patient acquiescence and a certain degree of willingness to co-operate with the new rulers—a willingness which especially in matters of education may seem to some Westerners to exceed the bounds of conscience—there is no yielding whatsoever on the fundamental issues. Rather is there an intensity of feeling which startles a foreign observer the first few times it may be revealed to him.

Such was the case with a group of Chinese church leaders who were meeting early in May of this year. The topic announced for discussion, under physical conditions which made it absolutely safe to say anything without fear of eavesdroppers, was one of those connected with

the approaching meeting of the International Missionary Council at Madras. The real purpose of the discussion was to secure an expression of conviction from these men as to how they, as Christians, felt about war in general and the Sino-Japanese conflict in particular. The response was immediate and unmistakable. There was not a pacifist in the group. A university professor, middle school principals, ordained ministers and a business layman expressed themselves in terms which startled and almost shocked some of their missionary colleagues who were privileged to be present. They spoke from the heart and with utter frankness. There was some bitterness in what they said, and some failure, one felt, to appreciate all of the difficulties under which any missionary from a foreign country inevitably labours. But mostly there was profound conviction that however wrong wars are in general, in this particular instance there was nothing that China could possibly do but fight, that the fight therefore is a just one, that it is *right* for China to fight, and that the fight must go on to the bitter end—and by implication an end which will see, at however remote a date, China's soil clear of the last invader. Some of the arguments advanced sounded archaic—as one missionary characterized them they were “the same old stuff that we were being told in theological seminary in 1917”—and the whole episode impressed one of those present as rather a sad revelation of the width of the gap between the thinking of the Chinese leaders of the Church and at least one group of missionary colleagues. But most of all it revealed an irreconcilability to a situation which will be endured only so long as it cannot be cured. To admit that the situation is permanent, or that it cannot be cured, would have been regarded by that group as fundamental treachery. Chinese independence is part of their faith, among the things which

may be unseen at the moment, but which are eternal.

The field in which so far the sharpest issue has been drawn between the patriotic feelings of the Chinese and the requirements of the present regime, is education. Christian schools, especially the middle schools and universities (Yenching, the Catholic University and the Sino-French University), in the cities not actually fought over—Tientsin, Peking, and Changli—have kept going with only a slight interruption. In Tientsin the schools opened in the fall of 1937 with greatly reduced enrolments, now largely recovered. In Peking the reduction was much less, and by the autumn of 1938 several of them had the largest student bodies in their history, and student bodies of particularly choice young people. Nor have the restrictions imposed by the authorities yet been as numerous, rigid, and distasteful as many had expected. Text-books for the most part printed in Japan, deficient in quantity and late in arrival; the removal of English from the list of required subjects—by no means an unmitigated evil!—a complete revision of history and geography so as to remove any suggestion of aggression from other directions than the West, or of any other part for Korea than one of happy membership in the Japanese Empire; and a very recent requirement not yet universally enforced that a teacher's day-by-day programme of instruction for a whole term be outlined in detail and strictly adhered to—these are minor irritations, to be viewed with alarm chiefly as the prelude to more serious troubles of this sort to come.

What has created the real problem in Christian education has been the repeated insistence on participation in campaigns, public parades and mass meetings which violate every patriotic sensibility of the modern Chinese. Each major defeat of the Chinese armies has been made

a weapon to harrow the wounded feelings of all loyal teachers and students in the Christian schools. These Christian schools with foreign missionary connections are the most important single group of private schools that have been able to keep open. The issue has therefore been brought to a focus in them, and the outcome is by no means clear. The one major victory which has been won by Christian educational authorities, in what at best seems to be a rearguard action, has been a release for institutions of university grade from further orders to participate in such campaigns and parades. That release has not yet been extended to middle schools, and while some sort of vague assurance has been received from embassy authorities that the consequences of failure to comply with orders of this sort will not be serious, the Chinese principals of the schools concerned for the most part are so sceptical of the value of such an indefinite suggestion of immunity that they have not dared to act upon it.

The question therefore remains, shall Christian middle schools keep open at the cost of a fundamental hypocrisy whenever orders of a certain sort may be issued, or shall they run the imminent danger of being summarily closed for the sake of an adherence to basic convictions? Other allied questions include the following: Is it better to serve the educational needs of a constituency for the most part without other educational opportunities, even when at several points the needs can be served only by acting a lie and professing what is known to be untrue, or to go out of existence and surrender the field entirely to forces which will then have everything their own way? How long can immature youth be subjected to propaganda of this sort, known to be false by their teachers but with no overt correction possible, without being subtly indoctrinated? Is it better to be closed down on a clear issue

of conscience than to drag along under an increasing burden of minor restrictions until at last, on an issue of no fundamental importance, the game is seen to be up? Where does Christian patience end? Is it right to run the risk of exposing Chinese teachers and students to any number of conceivable forms of persecution if school authorities (especially missionary authorities with the protection given by their status as third-party nationals) insist on rights and privileges which can be claimed only because of the foreign connections of the schools, and which in no case can be extended to the student bodies and the teaching staff? These are among the perplexities that confront Christian education in the occupied areas of North China to-day. On the whole it must be said that the Chinese principals are more inclined to yield than are their missionary friends.

There are those who draw a distinction between questions of this kind which are political and possess only incidental religious implications and the kind of problem which it is feared will sooner or later confront Christian schools in the enforcement of reverence for Confucius or even the introduction of forms of Shinto worship. Then will come the real test of moral and religious convictions, and there are signs that such a test may not be long postponed. In Tientsin, for instance, the picture of Confucius has already taken the place in every school assembly hall formerly occupied by that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and, far more ominous, a prerequisite to permission to reopen schools in Kalgan (in the province of Charhar) is attendance at and participation in Confucian observances which only by a straining of the term can be called non-religious. In other words, the present favoured position of Christian education in the North is a precarious one, and the future is anything but certain. As the principal of perhaps the

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best-known middle school in Peking put it just as school was closing last June, "If pressure such as we have been under for the past three weeks is renewed when the autumn term begins, we shall have to close". For the moment the pressure is relaxed.

Turning to Christian medical work, the problems are of another nature. Few if any hospitals in the areas under review have had to be closed, but all are greatly handicapped by inadequate Chinese staff. The need for medical service with the Chinese armies was so appalling that many doctors and nurses left their hospitals with the blessing of their foreign colleagues. Others, in institutions exposed to the onrush of the invading armies, justifiably uncertain as to the respect which might be shown even to the Red Cross, dared not remain at their posts, but fell back with the throngs of refugees and eventually found a place either in the medical arm of the national forces or in institutions in "Free China". The result has been a dearth of personnel, particularly in the interior where conditions of travel have been made so difficult and where, rightly, the hazards of living have been regarded as so much greater than in the larger cities near the coast. Meanwhile clinics have not diminished in size, although a large proportion of hospital inmates have been the victims of the retaliatory raids so freely indulged in by the Japanese garrisons. Patients able to pay first-class fees have in some cases almost ceased to exist, and without the timely aid in supplies and financial grants brought by the British Fund for Relief in China (the Lord Mayor's Fund) many a Christian medical institution might have had to close its doors in the face of the most appealing human need it has encountered for years. The crisis has brought a deeper realization of the spiritual nature of the ministry of healing, and a tightening of the bonds of Christian

fellowship among the depleted members of many a hospital staff.

Perhaps because of the very fact that the evangelistic side of the Christian programme in North China is more diffused and less institutionalized, the situation to-day presents a greater variety of experience than either the educational or medical. Schools have either trekked across mountains and rivers, in some cases being the targets of machine-gun strafing while on the march, to find some sort of asylum in uninvaded sections of the hinterland, or have been abandoned with only feeble efforts towards reopening, or have been able to maintain themselves under definite limitations. Hospitals and nurses' training schools have kept going, on skeleton staff in many cases, with no new entering classes in some instances. But churches, chapels, and the little groups of believers have been so widely distributed that they have met many varieties of fate. Some chapels have been destroyed and some pastors have been murdered. Complete figures are not available, but while the number of Christians who have been killed must be considerable, it would seem that up to the present it is not as large as might have been expected.

Mission compounds have served as places of comparative safety for thousands of refugees, men as well as women and children, and these places have for the most part been inviolate. Exceptions in the case of foreign-owned compounds would consist mostly of indiscriminate robbery and minor looting immediately after the capture of a city, or raids by bandits who have sprung up in the areas outside of Japanese control, either before the "Border Government" had asserted its influence, or in the intervening stretch of "no-man's land" where neither side can exercise effective control. Innumerable church premises and compounds in the country districts of each mission

station have been turned into temporary refuges for women and children, with varying fortunes when the pinch has come. The customary procedure seems to have been for the men in charge—the local minister and a few of his most dependable deacons, elders, church committee or young laymen in the church—to place a table in the gateway, over which has hung the Red Cross flag and the flag of the country in whose name the missionary society holds the deed to the property; to give the Bible and perhaps a hymn-book a place of prominence on the table; and to offer tea or hot drinking water to the Japanese soldiers as soon as any of them have come within sight. The collection of panic-stricken women and children, with their little teams of guardians, has often been all the humanity that has remained in the village, the rest of the population having temporarily fled. Sometimes—usually, in fact—the scheme has worked, but not always. If there has been any particularly aggravating experience which the invaders have recently had to endure, their exasperation was likely to be vented upon the first innocent bystanders within reach. So it was with the team of six laymen in charge of one such village chapel refuge. A string of military trucks found a stone bridge at the entrance to the village completely destroyed. The Christians truthfully protested that they knew neither who had done it nor where the parties had gone. Five of the six were led away ostensibly to serve as guides to another village pointed out on the officer's map, but as soon as they reached its edge, all five were lined up, made to kneel and shot in cold blood. One of them, by feigning instant death, survived two bullet wounds and a severe kicking, and told the story to his missionary friend some weeks later.

In another town the minister and six or seven of his

laymen were seized by a detachment which had suddenly appeared in the main street, led into an adjoining yard, and made to kneel. A rifle was held close to the head of each, and after all protest had been in vain the minister was bowed in prayer when a hand lifted his chin and he found himself looking into the face of the commanding officer. The Chinese interpreter, a policeman who had been forced to go along with the raiding detachment, had recognized him as one whom he had heard preach some months before in another town, and had interceded in his behalf. Those who know the man are inclined to believe that it was the spiritual force of his character, shining out through his face, which led the officer to exclaim, "You are all bandits in this village, and all deserve death. But we are protecting the church, and you may go." One man in the group, not personally identifiable by the minister, was not released, however, and as the others were led out of the yard they heard a rifle shot which ended his life, the body being thrown over the wall into a building already afire.

It is this sort of experience which has given a truly heroic tinge to so much of the work which the Church has carried on all through the past year in many of the rural fields of the North. Where towns have been within reach of Japanese garrisons by lorry or tank, particularly where towns have been near the railway or other scenes of the increasing guerrilla activity, no one could tell when or how suddenly a raiding expedition might arrive to put the fear of the Imperial Japanese Army into the hearts of those whose friendship and co-operation it had ostensibly come to win. Investigation in eight counties in one area revealed eighty-two villages as having been partly burned. These villages had a population of over 137,000, of whom over 1,000 were killed—four-fifths of the deaths being among

the men—and 400 wounded, with a property destruction estimated to be as high as four and a half million dollars. So far as is known, not a single victim had been in any way connected with the resistance to the invader.

Getting what little relief has been available to the help of the victims of these raids has been no easy task, especially when it has meant carrying grain or money across the boundaries between the two areas of control. The Japanese have at times been very sensitive to any relief efforts which might be construed as reflecting on their own conduct. Yet the work has gone on. So too have the customary winter study classes and lay-training groups, both in many country church centres and in the central headquarters of different missions. In some places there was naturally a heavy falling off in attendance last winter, but in others the figures kept up astonishingly well, and in still others opportunities were seized which had never before existed. If there were between eight hundred and a thousand refugees living in the plant of a middle school which could not be reopened, in a case where its principal and the leading members of the staff were doing welfare work among Chinese troops near the front, the challenge to those members of the evangelistic staff who were still available to bring these people something more than a subsistence diet was irresistible.

Many Christian workers bear testimony to a spiritual hunger among all sorts and conditions of men in these days. The problem is often one of putting off people who in the flush of their new knowledge and allegiance seek admission to baptism and the church before they can be properly trained or their motives fully tested. On the other hand there are those—and the number is probably growing—who have thrown themselves with complete devotion into the programme of resistance, and who with

a zeal far greater than they ever showed as members of Christ's army of love, have given themselves to a life which, by the nature of the case, has to find many of its strongest impulses and compulsions in cruelty and hate. The iron has entered into their souls, and while they respect their Christian friends, they can no longer accept the Christian name unless it is broadened to cover many acts essentially unchristian. In other words, Chinese Christians are being faced with the same ethical and spiritual tensions which have plagued their Western brethren for many years.

Another question which the visitor from abroad who was referred to in the first paragraph of this chapter asked more than once of his newly found Chinese friends was this: "What is the Gospel, and what has it done for you?" Repeatedly, in a pragmatic manner to which residents in China soon become accustomed, the reply took the shape of a recital of deeds of courage, faith, love, and sometimes heroism which to their knowledge had been performed during the past year by Christians of their acquaintance—often young Christians, or members of their flocks who had previously shown no particular evidence of the working of effective grace in their lives. In every instance it was a case of somebody going the second mile, doing more than could naturally have been expected of him, exceeding in spirit and conduct those among whom he lived. There have undoubtedly been cases of arrant cowardice and the abandonment of all effort at Christian living. War is too wholly evil to be endured without injury. But its test has revealed resources in the Church which some may not previously have known to exist, and has given grounds for faith that the Gospel is so deeply rooted in the hearts of many in North China that not even the present catastrophe can do it permanent injury.

III

IN NANKING

MINNIE VAUTRIN

TO the non-believer, the unique qualities of Christianity should stand out in bold relief as it passes through periods of persecution and testing. Believers themselves can say with St. Paul, "For I know whom I have believed and I am persuaded that He is able to guard that which I have committed unto Him against that day." In one's personal experience religion indeed becomes a reality that sustains through long days of uncertainty and terror and suffering: an inseparable part of daily life. It is not something to be proved by words, and you no longer discuss or argue about it, but it becomes that which is essential for each hour of each day. Sentences in familiar passages of the Bible become enriched with a fuller and deeper meaning which one was unable to comprehend in normal times, and it becomes easy to understand why the great hymns of the Church have been passed on from generation to generation, from century to century. Every phrase of the Lord's prayer becomes a passionate desire, a separate prayer as it were, which one utters over and over again. We begin to see why Jesus taught it above all other petitions to His disciples. The power of prayer becomes so assured that believers feel themselves doing the impossible: they know they are being guided and sustained by a force that is not their own. Again with

St. Paul they find themselves saying, "I can do all things Him that strengtheneth me".

The first Challenge to the Churches in Nanking

After the beginning of the hostilities at Lukouchiao in July 1937, for a number of weeks there was uncertainty. Surely war was not inevitable! As in the past, it was hoped a way would be found to arrange for a temporary settlement at least. Thoughtful leaders and citizens in the capital knew that the country was not prepared for war, did not want war. After the fighting began in earnest in the Shanghai area, however, these same people began to feel that they must prepare for a long-drawn-out struggle against hopeless odds, must even be prepared to sacrifice all, but none could imagine or foresee that the loss of one Japanese soldier near Lukouchiao would result in the breaking up and scattering of tens of thousands of families, the sad trek westward of millions of civilians, the destruction of billions of dollars of material wealth and the murder of thousands upon thousands of innocent civilians. By the middle of August bombing had begun on Nanking, and soon there were destitute and wounded to care for. The churches in that city quickly awakened to the challenge and immediately formed a union committee which set to work to raise funds and plan for relief work. By the end of September the Nanking Christian War Relief Committee consisting of leading representatives of all the churches, the Y.M.C.A., and the Union Institutions was selected.

This Nanking Committee had regular three-hour Sunday afternoon meetings for almost two months. It was a strong committee, headed by the president of the (Christian) University of Nanking, and it immediately mobilized Christian forces to meet the need of the

refugees who were then passing through the city in a stream of approximately a thousand a day. These refugees from the fighting area down near Shanghai needed food, clothing, and shelter. With the repeated and continuous bombing of the city there was also the great need of the wounded civilians and the destitute. Through the efforts of members of the committee an ambulance was secured for the Christian Hospital, and funds were solicited to help carry on the work of the hospital as its income gradually decreased with the evacuation of the wealthy patients. University students were organized to help bring in the wounded after the air raids. During this time the Christian women of the city did more than their share to solicit and make clothing for refugees and wounded soldiers.

By the beginning of November many wounded soldiers from the war area were being brought to the railway station at Nanking, preparatory to sending them to military hospitals in the city or on up the Yangtse. Immediately an energetic sub-committee was appointed to mobilize help and supplies for this work. The members of the American Church Mission which has a church centre near the railway station, did a most commendable service in caring for these frightfully wounded men who had given their all for their country and were receiving so little in return.

Throughout these discouraging and depressing months as the air raids on the city continued and the retreating army was slowly drawing nearer to the national capital, services in the local churches continued. I attended one such service in October and recorded the following in my diary: "This morning very soon after the service began, the warning siren sounded. The pastor announced that we would continue until the 'urgent' signal came. When

it sounded in about ten minutes, the pastor said to the audience, 'Shall we continue or go to the dugout?' One man in the congregation replied 'Continue', and we did so. Slowly the heavy bombers drew nearer. When the bombing could be plainly heard inside the city wall, the pastor stopped preaching and asked all to pray silently for peace. When the sounds of the bombing ceased and the planes had flown away from the city, the service continued. How meaningful were the prayers, the hymns, the sermon! Life is real, life is earnest these days."

During this time also daily union prayer meetings were being held, conducted in the different churches of the city in turn. And from September on, daily at noon, all Christians were urged to unite in silent prayer for peace. For one who had passed through the period of the Great War, and spent one year of that time on furlough in America, the difference in attitude between the Christians of China and of the West could not but be contrasted. Here prayers were largely petitions for forgiveness for national and personal sins, for wisdom and courage for national leaders, for pity for destitute refugees and wounded, for an awakening of the leaders of Japan to a consciousness of their sins. Personally in all those long weary weeks I never heard a prayer of hatred for the people of Japan, no petition for victory in battle. If there seemed perhaps to be a lack of personal sacrifice of money and food and clothing on the part of some of those who had those comforts, for the sake of those who were in such dire need and for the sake of the wounded soldiers, we must remember the tremendous leadership and initiative that it took in the West to put across campaigns for personal self-sacrifice and co-operation.

Evacuation, and its effect on the Churches

As the fighting neared Nanking in late November and as the Government authorities continued to urge people to leave, saying that the forces defending the capital would fight to the last man, the exodus was tremendous. All who could afford it for themselves and their families went westward, many to cities as remote as Chungking and Chengtu in far Szechwan, some to nearer cities in adjoining provinces, while others could afford only to cross the Yangtse River and seek shelter in the towns and villages off the main highways. This exodus began with the well-to-do whose material wealth was conveyed to the river boats in automobiles and trucks, but it extended down to the poor, whose roll of bedding and bundle of clothes were packed into rickshas and pulled by some weary ricksha coolie. Naturally this general exodus included many Christians and not a few pastors. Who could blame them for leaving, for who could foresee what the future held in store? At best the city might be turned over without a struggle within the old wall, but at the worst there might be a long siege, with weeks and months of bombing and finally with fighting within the city itself.

In one Church denomination all five of the pastors and their families evacuated, three of them still being in Chungking and two in or near Kweiyang in the west. In another Church eight of the pastors and elders doing work in the city and surrounding country all evacuated, but six are now back and busily at work. The American Church Mission followed the very thoughtful policy of securing four residences in the Safety Zone and in these residences housed almost six hundred refugees, among them being many of their own Christians, their clergymen and lay workers. In these residences they were later able to protect not only their own people but many others

and to carry on regular religious services and Bible classes when such services were tremendously needed. Here they conducted special preaching services for non-Christians, besides having a force of workers at hand ready and willing to hold services in refugee camps and in the Christian Hospital.

There were but two regular churches within the area of the Safety Zone, and in these no Sunday services were omitted. One of these churches for several months sheltered about two hundred of the constituency of that church from other parts of the city. In most of the other churches of the city the last regular services were held in November, just before the city fell, with but a handful of regular members present and not even a pastor, for by that time all but three of the city pastors had evacuated with their families. Most of these churches did not resume services in their church homes until late in February or in March, when people began to leave the shelter of the Safety Zone to go back to their homes. And what motley, unpromising congregations those first ones were! The old, the lame, the halt, the poor, many not members, who had come to seek help in one form or another. Courage and fearlessness were their outstanding qualities, for only those with such qualities would dare to live outside the Zone even in those days. They were mostly too old and too poor for soldiers to molest, so they had ventured back to their homes, or what was left of them, to salvage what little might be still there, leaving the younger members of their families back in the shelter of the Zone. No missionary was optimistic about the future of the church in those days.

Christian Participation in the International Committee

The story of the organization of the International

Committee and its achievements through the formation of the Safety Zone is a thrilling one. The writer can say this with pride, for no woman was allowed to be a member of the committee. The initiative for its formation came from a missionary, and the strong majority of its officers and members were from the missionary community, men who had to be separated from their wives and children for long months, often leaving them in places that were none too safe, in order to carry on this humanitarian work for the poor of this great city. The chairman, however, was a German business man who was a true colleague in all things, even to faithful attendance at the Sunday afternoon English service. The predominant section of all Chinese who carried heavy responsibilities in the Safety Zone, refugee camps and relief work was Christian. This fact is doubly significant because so many of the Christian pastors, teachers, doctors and other important laymen had evacuated from the city.

The city fell to the conquering army on December 13th 1937. For perhaps a month, the Safety Zone, which was about one-eighth the area of the walled city, housed approximately 250,000 people. A few thousand perhaps remained in their own homes to suffer even more cruelly than within the shelter of the Zone. Seventy thousand were sheltered in the 25 large camps, two-thirds of these being in the 11 camps which were housed in Christian institutions. At the time of greatest danger there were 30,000 refugees at the University of Nanking (a Christian institution) being housed in academic buildings and residences; 3,600 at the Bible Teachers' Training School, more than 3,000 in the Theological Seminary, and at least ten thousand women and children in the buildings of Ginling College, the Christian college for women of which Dr. Wu Yi-fang is president. Five months later,

five of the remaining six camps still open were in these mission buildings and they were housing at that time almost five thousand, mostly young women and children. Through the three summer months, the Ginling College camp continued to protect and care for almost eight hundred young women and girls for whom it was unsafe to return to their homes.

Through the years since their founding these mission institutions have made many worthy contributions to the life of China through the training given to its youth, but the service rendered through the shelter offered to the homeless and destitute and terror-stricken during these months of intense danger is worth all they have cost the churches of the West. Walls and woodwork are scarred, paint has been rubbed away by countless feet, locks and hinges are broken and missing, but deep gratitude to the Christian Church of the West exists in the hearts of many who found shelter in the Safety Zone and the Mission institutions.

The Christian Hospital

The record of the Christian Hospital is a most worthy one. It courageously met each new crisis that came to it through many months. First it cared for the mutilated civilians after the air raids, then for several months it received the more severely wounded soldiers and officers. After the bombing of the big new Government hospital, those patients were all moved over to the Christian Hospital. When its Chinese staff of doctors and nurses left in the general exodus in November, it looked as if it would be impossible to carry on, but again the missionary staff bent to the task and a new force was mobilized. The missionary technician became dietitian as well as treasurer; a missionary evangelist was mobilized to be the business

manager and for many months you could see him going from one disbanded hospital and health station to another salvaging medical supplies before they were looted or burned. Two missionary doctors and one Chinese doctor carried the tremendous medical load until February, working all hours of the day and the night. The one missionary nurse left on the staff who in peaceful times does not apparently take time to sleep, worked harder than ever. It was not uncommon to see her with a baby in each arm, trying in addition to soothe a third and sometimes even a fourth. After weeks of effort a third missionary doctor was permitted to return in February. Chinese nurses were mustered from the highways and byways, but they were all of inadequate training and often of doubtful help. Throughout this period daily chapel services continued at eight o'clock each morning in the hospital chapel for staff and patients. Many members of the staff who previously had only been nominal Christians began to take their turn at leading services, thus strengthening their own position as Christians and giving public testimony to their deepened faith.

Religious Work in the Camps

The limited programme of Christian work carried on in the beginning in the camps housed in the Christian Institutions was gradually expanded. During the early weeks all strength and effort had to be given to protecting the refugees, providing for food and bedding for the destitute and in trying to meet a few of the many other calls for all kinds of help. Several of the men missionaries for weeks during the coldest part of the winter worked like slaves, actually trucking rice and fuel to the twenty-five camps, and one dares not think what would have been the tale had not these able-bodied men been at hand to

help. Without their presence every truck and group of coolies would have been taken. Christmas came at a time when killing and raping, looting and burning and terror were still rampant in the city. As one missionary expressed it, it was "Christmas in hell". But even so there were a number of simple Christmas services held for small groups of workers, and the message of that day was not forgotten. By January 17th, daily religious meetings were started in the Ginling camp, and by means of a laboriously distributed ticket system each woman in the huge camp who was interested was able to attend one meeting a week. Gradually as conditions improved in the city and as strength and energy returned to those who had been carrying such tremendous burdens during the first weeks of the occupation, and also as religious workers began to creep back into the city from the hiding places in the country, the religious programme in the camps expanded. The eagerness of the people to hear a message of hope, their increased ability to understand the deeper truths of the Christian message greatly encouraged the Christian workers. Regular religious services were increased, Bible classes were started, even work for children and young people somewhat similar to that of a primary school was undertaken in some of the camps. Because of the larger number of women workers available and the fact that it was still not safe for them to go off the campus, about March 1st the programme of teaching in the Ginling Camp was enlarged. The services culminating in Holy Week and Easter Sunday in that camp deserve special mention.

For the six weeks before Holy Week, between six hundred and a thousand were enrolled in classes studying "The Life of Christ". These classes met three times each week and were definitely planned to prepare the young

women to understand the great message of Holy Week and Easter. Not only did they study the life of Christ, but five afternoons a week there was a preaching service taking the teachings of Jesus as the theme. Those who expressed a desire to attend the nine services for Holy Week and Easter Sunday regularly were given a special ticket. There was a wonderful response to the carefully prepared messages of those weeks. Suffering, sorrow, life shorn of all but the absolute necessities, had made hearts tender and had prepared them to understand the suffering of God in Christ for the sins of humankind. Missionaries now in the churches say there is a new response and interest in Christianity in the city. Had it been possible during the time this project was being carried on in Ginling to have conducted a similar one for men and boys in some of the other large camps, the response to Christianity would be even more marked.

The Autumn Programme of the Churches

During the late spring and all through the summer and autumn of 1938, missionaries have been gradually securing permission from the military authorities to return to their work in Nanking. In some of the churches, Chinese workers have also been returning, but from all the Christian centres in the city the plea is for more trained leaders to meet the unprecedented opportunities. Here are some of the appeals from these missionary workers:

"The opportunities have never been greater and people's hearts never more open than now. Their old security, religious and material, is gone. The Church has stood through everything and the spirit of Christ has been seen and felt by many. The dispersion of families and the upheaval of normal family life has weakened, and in many cases removed, the barrier which family custom and tradition erected against the

acceptance of Christianity. Christ when on earth worked in 'occupied territory'. His Holy Spirit is at work mightily among us and we dare not sin against Him by refusing to carry on."

"If ever the saying was true, 'Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness for they shall be filled', it is true to-day in Nanking. One of our members said, 'I used to read stories about the work in Korea and concluded the Koreans were different from the Chinese. Now I think Nanking is in the midst of a genuine religious revival'. We are building new churches to-day, and the prospects are most encouraging. The Church is the one interest in many lives. Here they find joy and peace of heart and fresh hope for the future. We have more young people coming to all the services than we have ever had before."

"The responsiveness of the people is most remarkable. Failure to keep some of our best trained workers here under present conditions would be gross desertion."

"If ever the people needed help they do now. The soul of a people is in danger, and if we can do aught to save it we should do so. The Church needs to stand here in this occupied territory as a constant challenge, all too inefficiently perhaps, but still to stand as a witness and a protest against the evil that has been and is being done here."

"I feel that Christian work probably never had a greater opportunity than at present in Nanking. All doors seem to be flung wide open to receive our message. About 250 enquirers are receiving instruction preparatory to joining one of our three churches in the city. Attendance at Sunday School is better than I have ever known it and scholars of all ages are responsive to religious teaching. One has a conviction that only the Christian message is adequate to heal and comfort the hearts of these people who have suffered so cruelly. The 'Suffering Christ' and the fact that He lived His life in occupied territory and yet had a triumphant spirit challenges the people also to rise above their sufferings in the spirit of Christ."

"Surely if the people in this area ever needed the help that Christ can bring, and the sustaining power of Christian sympathy and hope, it is now. We must not fail them in this their hour of need."

"The Church seems to be the one trusted and stable institution in the city. Non-Christians even come to it asking that it perform the wedding ceremony for members of their families."

Progress being made to relieve Impoverished Conditions

The churches and other Christian institutions in order more adequately to meet the needs in the city have thought out afresh their programmes for the coming year. Schools that were formerly self-supporting and independent in finances cannot be so any longer. In most of the churches schools and classes for little children have been opened with a larger attendance than was dreamed of. Tuition for such classes is very low compared with that of former years. Much more emphasis is being placed on activities, industrial work, and religious teaching. In five different Mission institutions courses for destitute or semi-destitute young women and girls have been opened. The emphasis is being placed on home-training and industrial work in addition to religious teaching. On the Ginling campus there is a Homecraft Course for destitute women and their little children, thus taking care of more than one hundred problem cases. In another institution fifty-three young women are enrolled in a lay-training course, in which the emphasis is being placed on training for lay-leadership in the Church.

Since there is no Christian secondary school for boys in the city, three of the churches have opened classes in secondary school subjects and have most encouraging enrolments. At the University of Nanking campus they

have not only a flourishing primary school for children and tutoring classes for junior high school boys, but also a special agricultural short course in which they make splendid use of their agricultural gardens and farms for teaching purposes. On the Ginling campus they have an experimental course for girls of high-school age in which they give much time to practical training. The younger girls who cannot pay full fees, and there are many such, clean classrooms and dining-rooms and wash dishes; older girls are trained to teach in the Homecraft Course. The same cry comes from all churches and mission institutions for a greater number of trained workers to meet the unprecedented needs and opportunities. Parents are eager to have their children study under Christian auspices.

Changed Attitudes and a Deepened Spiritual Life

Very often one has evidence of changed attitudes on the part of non-Christians, of deepened spiritual life and thought in Christian leaders and laymen. Needless to say there is deep appreciation of the fact that Christian workers and missionaries were the main reliance of the people in the hardest experience of their lives. The prejudices and indifference of the past decade seems to have been largely wiped away from eyes and hearts and there seems to be a longing for those things that religion alone can give. A very intelligent and competent young man of excellent education and experience in responsible positions, whose father is a leader in one of the other great religions of China, has become deeply interested in Christianity. He says that Christianity demonstrated its supremacy this year, its fitness to meet the most difficult need of modern times. Both in quality and quantity the Christian efforts stood out far in front of that of all other

faiths. "Only the Christians really had the spirit to do something worthwhile", were his words in a recent conversation. Such young men need all the faith and courage that the Church has to give, for the days ahead are filled with difficulties for them.

The pastors of the city too seem to have a more genuine religious faith than I have ever known them to have before, a deeper conviction that only belief in Jesus Christ as Saviour will bring redemption from the sins that have weakened their own country and that now are in control of the military leaders of Japan, the sins of selfishness and greed. But yesterday as I talked to one pastor he told of how one of the city evangelists is now in jail, he thinks for no other reason than that he was doing street preaching. He has tried to get some warm clothing for him, but thus far has failed. In telling me about the case, he said that he was not fearful for the life of his friend, for he thinks that he will not be injured. And then his face lighted up as he said, "What a fine opportunity he will have to bear witness for Christ in that jail". They are all finding that they have to be more careful in their choice of illustrations in their preaching lest a spy be in the audience, but so far this has not been a serious hindrance to their work.

An interesting account of the experiences of a seventy-four-year-old Christian bears repeating. Last autumn when the bombing started in the city, she like many others left for a safer place. Her grand-daughter, being the wife of a university professor, went west with her husband, taking with her three of the great-grand-children. She with three of the great-grand-daughters sought safety in a little village in a secluded spot thirty miles from a railway station. But even such a tiny spot was not left unmolested. It, too, was looted and burned and its women

were hunted down. After a time the soldiers deserted what was left of the tiny place and moved on. This past summer when the tiny village was thought to be harbouring guerrilla troops, it was mercilessly bombed. During the looting, the old lady said that her two pieces of bedding were taken from her and in the coldest part of the winter, at the point of a bayonet, she was forced to give over her fur inner garment. She told of how for many long cold months her only bedding was rice straw—both for herself and her little great-grand-daughters. Her only food for herself and the little girls was what one fearless old lady of the village would beg from the soldiers. For three months she did not have a bath, and even at her age it was not wise to wash one's face or to comb one's hair too often. When asked how she came through that awful ordeal looking so well and strong and not one day older, she replied, "It was prayer. God gave me strength to protect the little girls". And looking into her radiant and grateful face one could not doubt her answer.

Opportunities for Reconciliation

Opportunities to help the Japanese soldiers and officers to understand the real situation in China are not frequent, but nevertheless they do come. The pastors of the city, through the Nanking Church Council, ordered a large number of Bible portions in Japanese and began to distribute them as opportunity offered. They were soon requested to refrain from doing this, the reason given being that it would weaken the fighting spirit of the men. But other opportunities come to turn an enemy of China into a sincere friend as the following incident shows:

The grandson of a Japanese pastor came to Nanking as a soldier this past summer. While here he looked up a friend of his grandfather who is one of the Chinese pastors

of the city, a radiant, dynamic, friendly man. Through this pastor he came to know and deeply appreciate two fine Chinese Christian teachers who had returned to the city from long months of sojourn in the country. Both these teachers are men of sterling qualities of character, and the young soldier was aware of it. One evening this past September the young soldier turned up at the pastor's home, ill and miserable and homesick. The pastor and his motherly wife put him to bed in a clean fresh bed, killed a chicken and made him some delicious hot broth as only the Chinese cook knows how to make it, and tried as best they could to comfort and cure him. His letter of appreciation, uncorrected except for the omission of names, is given below:

September 16th, NANKING.

MY DEAR REV.—

My heart is full of many many thanks to your kindness you showed and to the friendship your friends showed to me. I shall never forget.

I am sorry to tell that I am going to be sent to Shanghai to-morrow morning. Whether I shall stay in Shanghai until I'm recovered from it or I shall be sent back to Japan, I am not sure. But I must tell you that the latter case is possible, as many examples show.

If so, I am very sorry not to be able to say good-bye to you and to my intimate friends you introduced. But I believe that we are never divided in the friendship in Jesus, wherever we may be. I shall never stop praying for you, for your church and for your country. I assure you we shall see each other in the near future. Please pray for it.

Has Professor—— come back to Nanking? I wanted to see and talk with him a little more. I am very happy to have found in him one or my best friend in China. Please tell him of this happiness of mine and of my prayer for him and his family.

My dear Professor —— has gone to the west. I feel so much sorry for him. I shall pray expecially for him. Please give my best regards to his family. Also to Mr. ——.

In the end I must mention that you cannot imagine how highly I appreciated that home-like atmosphere you and your folks showed to me the other night.

May be God's blessings always upon you.

Yours in Jesus,

(Signed by Japanese soldier.)

As this young soldier says, "We are never divided in the friendship in Jesus", and it is that fellowship alone which will in the end unite China and Japan, East and West. May the Church sacrifice more courageously to extend the fellowship until it unites all mankind into one great human family, one universal brotherhood in Christ.

IV

IN SOUTH CHINA: CANTON

REV. GEOFFREY F. ALLEN

A FEW moments ago, while we were having breakfast, there was the sound of planes overhead. As yet there has been no sound of bombing; probably they have passed over the city, on their way to attack the railway toward Hankow. In Canton so far we have lived through a year of air-raids, but we have seen nothing as yet to compare with the far worse sufferings of the war areas in the North.

Yesterday it was the city that suffered. My wife and I were at the morning service in the British Church on the island concession of Shameen in the centre of Canton. Sunday morning has been a frequent time for raids. While the lesson was being read, there was the noise like the rattle of a chain, as a bomb began to fall. Since we could hear the sound of the fall, the bomb must be very near. There was a moment of suspense, while some sailors in the congregation counted the seconds. Then came a terrific explosion. From my seat I could see the windows shake in a house beyond the Church. The reader quietly continued. We sang our chant: "O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands; serve the Lord with gladness, and come before His presence with a song." Again there came the sound like a rattling chain. Again two terrific explosions.

We went on to our hymn. "Come let us join our cheerful songs, with angels round the throne."

If we could have helped with the immediate relief of distress, we should of course have stopped the service. Others, however, would be doing such relief work, and it was not the immediate task of this congregation. Our task therefore was to proceed with our worship and our prayer. Breaking liturgical order, we paused before the first Collect to pray for those who might have suffered, and for those who were ministering to them. We then thought together of the Christian paradox of joy amid suffering. Just because we follow a Master who Himself trod the Calvary path, just because "we have not a high priest who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities", just because we "reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed", therefore in Christ we can still sing our Jubilates and our hymns of praise in the midst of suffering. We ask only that we may be ready to go out to relieve the suffering, the moment our help is needed. We end with a final prayer before the Blessing, that love and justice may soon triumph and banish the forces of war.

I have told the story of this service, because I have just seen it at first hand, and because it revealed so deeply the paradox of praise amid pain. It is, however, only one illustration of what has been happening at many churches throughout the last year. There is, however, one important difference. This church was on the British concession. Bombs might drop near. It was possible, but very unlikely, that they would fall within the British area. The Chinese clergy have been taking their services amid similar circumstances on Chinese soil. Services have been held, lessons read, sermons preached, while bombs have

been falling near. In their case, there was no certainty that the next bomb might not come too close and destroy the church. As we think of these churches, we feel ashamed of the security which comes to us, through the accident of belonging to a different nation and a different race.

In modern society, through the greater part of life, there is a curious convention to avoid all that is deep or earnest or real. We are so afraid of false sentiment, that we agree to avoid altogether the reality of depth, and to live amid the superficial and the frivolous. More deeply, we are probably half-consciously afraid that to be serious might lead us toward unwelcome realities, such as guilt and the need for penitence. There are times in life when this inhibition on the serious is lifted. The death of someone we love lifts for a moment the inhibition, and makes us aware of the realities of life. Europe was brought into the real world of human littleness, and human need and prayer, through the week of crisis. I suppose almost everyone in the East, Christian and non-Christian, Chinese and Japanese and Western, has felt this deepening seriousness through the past year. Words which till now have been shallow and formal suddenly acquire new meaning. "Lighten our darkness . . . and defend us from all perils and dangers of this night", we pray; the words will for ever bear new meaning, when we have used them at the very moment when lights had just been extinguished, as a warning of an approaching night raid. Whenever I think of the sacrifice of Christ in the Communion Service, I shall think of one service when raids first came, and we paused during the Holy Communion to think in what spirit Christ would have us face them. "All chastening seemeth for the present to be not joyous, but grievous: yet afterward it yieldeth peace-

able fruit unto them that have been exercised thereby." We have seen individuals grow into a whole new strength and peace of character, as they have passed through that purging fire of discipline, which the epistle to the Hebrews sees to be the meaning of suffering. We are seeing a nation born through the pains of suffering into a strength, which surprises itself almost as much as it surprises its enemies.

Naturally at first everyone, Chinese and foreign, men and women, Christian and non-Christian, became in some measure afraid. Suffering at first uncovers the weak places in our heart, in order that they may be brought for healing to Christ. We had not faced air-raids before. We did not know how often Japanese planes might come, nor what districts they would attack. Unknown fears are always infinitely harder to control than perils which can be seen with calm and open eyes. In view of the preoccupation of the West with air-raid precautions, it is interesting to notice that the first fears were made far more severe by excessive anti-aircraft measures. At the beginning during raids all traffic was stopped, and people were urged to go into cellars or dug-outs. For ten days we had raids night and day, and people were huddled together in the dark underground. The result was that they lost their sleep, and infected each other with nervousness in the dark. We reached a state where people would scarcely talk above a whisper, for fear a Japanese pilot might hear them! The slight gain in safety was more than off-set by the loss of morale in psychological tension and strain. Unless shrapnel or bits of burst shells are actually falling, you are very little more safe in a dug-out; in mind and spirit you are far more at ease if you can stand and see in what direction the planes are travelling.

Very soon some of these first intensive precautions

were relaxed, and people began to return to more normal life and work. It is not indeed always easy to concentrate on intellectual work amid the sound of planes and anti-aircraft bombs! Unless shrapnel is falling, we therefore perhaps go out for a little to watch the aeroplanes, and the puffs of smoke where shells burst near them in the air. Unless we ourselves can help with immediate relief and rescue work, we then go back to our ordinary business. As a result there has been far less nervousness, and work of all kind goes on. In part, for all men, with the dangers of war as with other things, familiarity breeds contempt. In part, for Christians, there is an added source of strength. Why should we fear those who can kill the body, but after that have nothing that they can do? One day the news came that a bomb had fallen very close to our Chinese Church in the city. My wife reported the fact to our Chinese gardener, who knew the church. He replied in all simplicity: "The people at the Church of our Saviour are not afraid".

It is not of course true to say that all work goes on as usual. Plans for social and educational development have inevitably been delayed. Money has to be diverted to repairing the waste of war, when otherwise it could be used for the constructive works of peace. The uncertainty frustrates forward planning and decision. We cannot tell whether to go forward with plans for social progress, when we cannot tell whether everything may not soon be destroyed in air attack or invasion. The schools in particular have been largely scattered or closed or moved. All through last year the Church Missionary Society struggled to pay the overhead charges for its school in the city with a handful of students; almost alone of its kind, with the greatest difficulty the school was kept open through the year. This year (October 1938), despite new

rumours of invasion, things are more promising. The universities have opened with very large entries. Schools have opened in districts where there has been less to attract the bombing. There is an amazing calm, a triumph amid difficulties, a deep confidence of spirit and quiet of mind.

In our Theological College, where the work of three great Church groups is combined, we have seen this steady triumph of courage over fear. At first we suffered as did every one else from a wave of uncertainty and anxiety. In the first few weeks of the raids many of our staff and our students were anxious. They wanted to leave Canton, and if possible, to move the College to the safety of Hong Kong. A few were obviously feeling rather severely the nervous tension and strain. We decided quickly that we had no right to hold people under discipline in conditions of anxiety and possible danger. We gave permission for any individual students to leave who chose to do so. At one time about half the students and a few of the staff went away. Then we had to decide the policy of the college. Gradually the course became clear.

We were pledged to follow a Lord who passed through suffering and death to His victory; we should be but poor witnesses to His triumph if we sought our own security the moment actual suffering came our way. Our own special task was the study of theology. Intellectual concentration would be difficult in Canton. We could no doubt study more quietly and more efficiently in neutral territory. China, even more than the West, pictures the scholar as one who pursues the quiet path of learning, detached from the troubles of the world. Whatever may be true of other subjects, theology however cannot live in such detachment. Our task in a theological college is

to become aware of the sin and need of man, and of the strength and forgiveness of God coming to meet that need. We shall not learn the Love of God more truly by retreating from the sin and need of the world; even if we lose a little in intellectual concentration, we shall learn our lessons all the more truly by sharing in the sufferings of others in need. There is, too, the probability that by staying we can help in various practical ways. If bombs should fall, we may be able to help in rescue work; if others become afraid, we may help by first learning and then ministering the love that casts out fear. If we help in no other way, the very fact of staying when we could leave may help to encourage the morale of others, who of necessity must stay. We look too to the future. We can leave if we like. Thousands of others must stay, either because they bear the responsibility of government, or because through sheer poverty they have no other choice. To these both now and in the future we must minister. If we left, we should have betrayed for ever the love that suffers with the suffering; if we stay, together with them we may learn that enrichment of sympathy which comes through sharing in common need. We need to formulate and weigh all these arguments, for there is one very grave argument on the other side. Even if we could succeed in banishing from our hearts all thought for ourselves, it is a very costly responsibility to ask others to stay in a position of possible danger, when one word would liberate them to live in security. It becomes, however, increasingly clear that it is right to keep our college open where it is, and to invite those who will to stay there. The decision is announced. Within a few days all who have left without exception return, and the college completes its year's work with full numbers of staff and students.

Looking back, it was a time of long and difficult and costly decision. Since then, everything has confirmed the rightness of the decision that was made. Actually we have felt almost too safe. No bombs have fallen anywhere near the college. It is an area with a great deal of foreign property, and for this reason so far has been spared. Planes pass constantly overhead. From time to time we go to our lectures with guns firing from the river nearby. A very little shrapnel has fallen once or twice on our grounds. But we feel almost unfairly safe, as the planes pass over our heads to bomb the town. Meanwhile we carry on with all our normal work; and we have been able to help in various other ways. Our students form a first-aid band, in case there should come need in our immediate neighbourhood. They take their share in visiting people in refugee camps. They visit the surrounding villages. One student comes to tell me that the people in the village are anxious; he comes to ask my advice, how best to help others to overcome their fears. There is no doubt that many people have been closely watching the behaviour of the Christian community through this time. From various things we hear, there is no doubt that it has been an encouragement to others, when those who could have left have chosen instead to stay.

I have written a little fully of our own situation, because it is the one which I have seen and could describe most closely at first hand. It would give an entirely false picture, unless I at once went on to say that this is merely one illustration of what has been happening on every side. Let me now paint a broader picture, leaving it to others to fill in the details as they read. The Roman Catholics have done invaluable work at their compound in the city. The area round their cathedral has been one of the centres where refugees have been cared for. They received a sad

reward when in August a bomb fell too close, and shattered to fragments every window of the old and precious stained glass in their cathedral. The Salvation Army have earned and received unstinted praise from everyone, for their work in caring for those made homeless and destitute by the war. They have been first on the scene after raids; and with their usual efficient organization have prepared free kitchens where the destitute could get food. Chinese students, scouts, and the Y.M.C.A. have been organized into relief and rescue bands; they have done the heart-rending work of visiting the bombed areas while men and women and children were still torn in suffering, or trapped beneath ruins, or at the point of death. The foreign business community, not less than the missionary community, have helped to maintain morale by staying when they could have left. In particular, one man who had retired has given endless hours of patient service, organizing the distribution of hospital supplies from the Lord Mayor's and other funds. Women of every nationality have worked to provide a constant supply of bandages and dressings. Doctors and hospital staff have been working all hours of the day and night, saving the life of the wounded. The big Lingnan University under an American foundation has carried on its full work, and at the same time helped with refugee camps. The various churches have all remained open. In addition to their usual work, they have provided centres of refuge where people could both shelter and find courage during the raids.

What has the effect of all this been? First and most striking, there is the amazing calm and courage. While I was writing the first part of this essay, there was the noise of planes and of distant firing. While I write at the moment there is the noise of children playing in a school

nearby. It is a picture of the steady continuance of normal activity, despite, and almost regardless of incessant raids. The railways provide another such picture. Though the line has been bombed almost daily for more than a year, the evening train still runs each day between Hong Kong and Canton. Some times it is a little late, as it has had to crawl very slowly over parts of the line that have been hit during the day. It is an immense tribute to the courage and persistence of the railway staff, that never for more than two days has the line been closed. In every field work has continued, and the morale has been excellent. There have been times of fear; it is quite untrue, as newspapers have occasionally suggested, that there has ever been anything approaching panic. There have been times of exaggerated rumours, possibly fostered by the Japanese to make the Government keep troops in the South. In time of war, one urgent Christian task is the dissecting of rumour with a rigorous critical judgement, the refusal to believe or repeat anything that does not come from a tested and proved authoritative source. When bombing has been specially severe vast crowds have left the city, and the streets have presented a deserted appearance, very strange for any Chinese town. The Government rightly urged all who could to return to their village homes, in order to prevent crowded targets for enemy bombs. Occasionally it has been a little disappointing to see some who were of higher rank and education, and who should therefore be the natural leaders in times of crisis, seeking instead their own safety in Hong Kong. For the most part, people of every class have learnt to face the crisis with immense courage and patience. As we start the second year of the war, people are calm and optimistic in spirit. Shops which had closed are opening again. Students are returning in larger numbers. The

Government leaders are strong and full of courage.

Very striking, too, has been the wonderful lack of vindictiveness, the acceptance of the suffering, the generosity toward the enemy. Here the Spirit of Christ has moved across the waters, inspiring those outside His Church not less than those within. Indeed, in some respects the Chinese people have provided a lesson and an example from which the Church can learn. Rather curiously, at times foreign missionaries have been caught up into a nationalism of the limited, antagonistic type, more than have the Chinese themselves. Those of us who remember the Great War know how immensely difficult it is in time of war to keep a judgement that is unbiassed and objective, that is utterly free from bitterness or exaggeration, that is scrupulous in equal fairness to either side. Sometimes foreign missionaries, in their distress at seeing the pain of others, and in their longing to be one with the country they serve, have been inevitably drawn into the nationalism that blames and defames the enemy. The Chinese, both those openly Christian and those who are Christian in spirit if not yet Christian in name, seem to have learnt the Christ spirit of a love for enemies. They are an example to all the world, in the extent to which they have kept that spirit amid the bitterness and sufferings of war.

In Christ mankind is one family. The enemy nation is the brother, to whom we desire as quickly as possible to be reconciled. The foe we fight is not flesh and blood, but always and only the spiritual wickedness, which is the common foe of all mankind on earth. How different the post-war years might have been if only in the West we could have kept that vision in its purity through the days of the war! How much further needless strain and suffering the world might have been spared, if only at the

end of the war we could have said: "Through the tragic waste of these years we have all alike been losers. Do not let us pause for the useless task of claiming victory or apportioning blame. Do not let us ask impossible reparation. We will ask that each side shall combine to reconstruct the areas that have been the actual scene of the fighting. When that is done, let us forgive and forget, and unite our powers at once in co-operation for the constructive tasks of peace." How hardly shall the lesson of forgiveness be preserved, when the enemy is the actual military aggressive power at our doors! How immense is the lesson for every nation and for the whole future of world civilization, if China can aid the world to break the fatal sequence of aggression and counter-aggression, by keeping generosity toward the enemy, as she is doing, through the days of war!

And now one word for the future. China has paid and is paying the price of patient suffering. What reward may she expect from the other nations of the world? There are three points which need making, and we will make them in ascending order of importance. The first we can make shortly, for other essays are likely to be more fully occupied with it. China, like Spain and Central Europe, has been made the scene of conflicting ideologies. The rival forces of totalitarianism, of communism, and of democracy have been drawn in various subtle ways into the conflict. It is immensely interesting to ask which way China herself will later move. In the vision of the founder of her new state, she looked toward British and American democracy. Some of her leaders have felt rather bitterly, that the failure of the democracies to understand and help her in her need has driven her into the arms of other counsellors and friends. It is immensely important in this situation, that we should not let judgement be blinded by

nationalistic slogans and party cries. Propaganda is made concerning the saving of China and the world from communism. Here, too, critical judgement and accurate observation is needed, lest we should believe anything so foolish. It is important moreover to be clear that such communism as does exist in China is the desire which all must approve for raising the level of life for the poverty-stricken masses; there is little or nothing in it now of the anti-religious movement, which many have rightly disliked and disapproved in early orthodox communist theory.

The second point concerns the responsibility of other nations, and especially of England and America. Without foreign mediation there seems little reason why the war with all its suffering should not drag on for a long time. The area is so vast, that for many months one side could be victorious in one district, while the other was regaining territory in another. There may come a time when the aggressor is beginning to feel the cost in money and in life, and when firm and skilful diplomacy could bring a quick end to the war. When such a time comes, it is to be hoped that the other powers will use their influence firmly and quickly. To some of us it seems that the other powers have been pitifully weak so far in their foreign policy in the East. Let us remember that isolationism is not a Christian policy for individuals, nor for nations. The cry, "Am I my brother's keeper?" was the cry of the first murderer. If we seek our own security in isolation, when sacrificial action on our part might end the suffering of another, then we ourselves are guilty of that suffering. At the same time it needs to be said extremely firmly that the only possible basis for permanent world peace is in rigorous justice. There is a very dangerous tendency in world politics at the moment to buy too cheap a peace on other terms. The sacrifice of the weak to the

strong for the sake of the security of the onlooker is not a principle on which an abiding civilization is likely to be built. China is not unnaturally a little anxious lest the fatal sequence of Manchuria, Abyssinia and Czecho-Slovakia provide a precedent for the powers to attempt a division of her own territory. We probably shall not know for fifty years the rights and wrongs of the Central Europe decision. It is possible there that the earlier boundaries were unjust; and that justice was on the side of letting minorities pass to the country whose language they spoke. It needs saying extremely clearly that there is no possible precedent here for application in the East, since in the East there is no question whatever of the territory of China rightly belonging in justice to any other country but China.

Finally a word needs saying on the deepest debt which the other countries owe to China, for her sufferings through this time. In the vision of the Servant Poems in Isaiah, whose fulfilment the New Testament sees in Christ, the patient acceptance of suffering is used by God, as the light which leads the nations to Him. There are many signs that once more God is using patience amid suffering in this way. The bearing of pain is leading those who formerly thought little of Christ to understand His message. In Canton, as elsewhere, we hear leaders of the Government, who are not yet themselves Christian, openly uphold the Cross and its lesson of self-sacrifice. The witness of the Church is having its effect, and leading men toward the Lord whose Love the Church proclaims. On every side doors are opening for the preaching and receiving of the Christian message. At the same time there is in China a rapidly rising standard of education. For a moment progress may be arrested. The Professor of Education in Hong Kong once said to me that in his

judgement education was the only social activity which did not suffer in Europe through the war. China in her reconstruction after the war will realize, as did the nations of Europe, that for strength a country needs a high standard of education.

From all this it follows that there is and will be in China an immense opening for missionary work; and that it must be of the highest possible quality. As we pass from the early days of missionary work to the later stage of an indigenous Church, we need to consider fully the nature and quality of the missionaries who are needed. In the earlier stage, the main work is direct and simple evangelism. In the later stage, this should more and more become the work of the Chinese themselves. What the local Church will then lack, and need from older churches, is trained and expert leadership in various specialist departments. There should be openings in education for men and women who have specialist training in various branches of learning, and who at the same time have thought through their learning into the setting of the service of Christ. There will be the need for people who have expert training and knowledge of methods of worship, of pastoral psychology, of parish administration. It is not enough that people should be recruited as soon as they leave college, and come with no thorough specialist gifts. Such people may still be needed; but we should not for one moment put them into immediate positions of leadership in school and hospital and church at home. If the older churches are to serve the church in China, they must send people who have had ten years' experience in different types of work, and who are ready for leadership in their own country, and therefore also ready for leadership abroad. This in turn means adequate salaries for their equipment and support.

It is a curious and striking fact that, at a time when missionary societies have all been very short of funds, money has been poured out richly for the relief of physical suffering in the war. It may be that the present physical needs strike men's imagination, and so also touch their pockets in a way that the quieter work of education and evangelism in peace fails to do. It may be that there is a dim suspicion that perhaps the missions are not using their funds in ways that are really adequate to the needs of the present day. Whatever be the cause, the facts remain that on the one side the doors are opening as never before for men to come to Him who is Lord both of Truth and of Love; on the other hand support is available in large and generous amount, once men see an urgent need and go out to meet it. Will those who have given generously toward the immediate physical distress in China give not less generously toward the rebuilding of mind and of spirit in Christ, in the years that lie ahead? Can we see the vision of the opening doors, and make known the name of Christ to a nation which is more and more turning toward Him as Lord? If so, then out of her sufferings there will rise a new China, made strong through the discipline of adversity, made ready it may be to lead the nations into a peace that is founded on Justice, Forgiveness, Love.

V

IN CENTRAL CHINA: HANKOW

WINIFRED I. COXON

DOWN to August 1938 the Central China provinces of Hupeh and Hunan were not invaded by the Japanese troops, though they have been subjected to many terrible air raids. Hankow, with the adjacent cities of Wuchang and Hanyang, separated only by the Yangtse and its tributary the Han River, forming what is known as "Wuhan", was the virtual capital of China after the fall of Nanking in December 1937, though nominally the capital was moved to Chungking.

This has greatly affected the whole life of these cities, owing to the large influx of Government officials and their entourage of well-educated men and women. On the other side of the picture are the masses of refugees of all classes and conditions pouring in all the time from the war areas. The majority of these, estimated at as many as 250,000 at one time, have been people with sufficient money to support themselves; but the remaining 30,000 to 40,000 have been absolutely destitute, and have had to be cared for by various organizations, Christian and non-Christian. They have been constantly changing groups; as one lot moved on further west others arrived to take their places.

The Sino-Japanese hostilities broke out during the

period of great heat, in July and August, when most of the missionaries were away at Kuling or some other summer resort. The Roman Catholic Church immediately organized its members for war-time relief service, and the Chinese Christian leaders of the various Protestant churches called a united meeting and organized themselves as the Wu-Yang-Han Relief Association of Chinese Christians, representing the estimated 5,000 Protestant Christians in this centre.

In meeting the national crisis this Association agreed to lay special emphasis on two aspects of Christian citizenship, namely, prayer and service. The members agreed to pray individually for the nation every day at noon, to meet in groups for prayer every evening, and to introduce special prayers into the Sunday services. They also agreed to help in any special relief work undertaken by the Association and to contribute their share of the funds for the same.

This Association, in conjunction with the Hupeh Christian Council Preparation Committee, later on (in December 1937) appointed the Emergency Relief Committee of Wuhan Christian Churches, under which a number of Refugee Camps have been organized and carried on, both in Wuhan and in other cities of this province of Hupeh. Up to date over 10,000 people have been assisted in these camps. The work of organizing and carrying on the camps has been shared by the Chinese Christian leaders and the missionaries.

All sorts of people from further down the Yangtse River valley have come to us as they fled before the storm, and we have done our best to care for them whether they were Christians or not. Here is a typical case of a family we were able to help.

He was an old man, Mr. Sun Chi-P'u, a native of

Hwaiyuan in the north of Anhwei province, on the other side of the river above Nanking. He had a big family of over thirty members when they started to run for their lives from the Japanese soldiers. Going north toward Honan province at a place on the border, they were terribly bombed by Japanese air planes, hundreds of the refugees being killed. His fifty-year-old sister was killed there and her daughter shot by machine-gun fire from a plane, and during the rush quite a number of children were trampled to death, and many others got separated from their families and lost. Old Mr. Sun himself had a narrow escape. He gathered together the eleven remaining members of the family that he could find, and with them trudged all the way from Honan to Hankow.

When they got near Hankow they were told that all the refugee camps in Wuhan were packed full and no more could be taken care of. So they stopped at Liu Chia Miao, a little town about seven miles from the city, and there they begged their daily food and spent their nights in the open. Then they heard that the Christian churches could still take some refugees and care for them. So this old man came with one of his own countrymen, a Mr. Liu, who also had a pathetic story, for he lost his only son, a boy of sixteen years, in the raid. It was a rainy day and they had walked a long way before they reached our office, and were wet to the skin. Nobody could see or hear them without being deeply touched. Happily, we were able to take them all into one of our Wuchang camps, and a small sum was given them to help them on the way as they went back to collect their families.

Another case of a Christian family is quoted in the words of one of my colleagues who shared the responsibility for running a camp in the buildings of Griffith John School of the London Missionary Society near Hankow.

"In February a family arrived in our midst with a special letter of introduction from the Hankow Committee, urging us to look after them as they were a group of brothers and sisters of a Christian family, who had fled all the way from Shanghai. I saw them first at table, in the dining hall. There was a tall boy of seventeen in a scout's uniform, with two younger brothers, two sisters in their teens, and an older sister of twenty-four, with a sad but beautiful face. Behind them sat a family of beggars and one could see that they were finding it hard to slip into the life of the camp, coming as they did from a cultured home. Later I visited them in the dormitory. In the daytime the brothers were allowed to come in, and there, on the floor, for we had no beds or other furniture, the elder sister had arranged their bedding and a few pieces of luggage on the six-foot square space, to give the impression of a small home! They even had flowers round them in jars. Whenever I visited them the elder sister would be sewing, mending and making for the others. The younger girls would be busy on the unending task of making cloth soles for the family shoes. The young boys would be reading story books from the small library we provided for the refugees, or doing their lessons with the help of the elder sister, or playing draughts on an improvised board.

"One day we decided to organize a Nursery School for the small children of the camp, and these three sisters offered to run it. It was quite a sight to go into the classroom and see the little tots working at their books, or listening to stories told very charmingly by their teachers, or playing games in the field.

"One evening we were having a talk together and I tried to express my gratitude to the girl for helping so faithfully with the little ones. She replied that it helped her greatly to have them to care for as she had had to leave her own little one at home. Then she told me her story.

"She had been married two years previously, and her husband held a post at Ginling College in Nanking; but when

her baby came it was more convenient for her to live at her old home in the country near Shanghai, so she rejoined her family. Then the war broke out and the fighting approached her home. Her own choice would have been to stay with her parents and baby, but there were the young brothers and sisters to consider, and the parents were too old to lead them to a safe place in the West. They were in terror of their son being killed as a potential soldier, and the daughters abused by the soldiers. So, she told me, she made the decision one night to leave with her brothers and sisters, but she added, 'It meant leaving my baby behind as it could not stand the hardship of the long journey.'

"It was a long, long trek, and the responsibility for the safety of her young brothers and sisters weighed heavily on her. One day they came to forked roads, both going West, but one led to the river and one inland. Which would be the least likely route for the Japanese to use? She decided for the river, and after hiding for some time on the bank they hailed a passing launch and were taken on board. All this time her heart was heavy with anxiety about her husband. For weeks she had had no word of him, but there were terrible rumours of what had happened to many able-bodied young men when the Japanese took Nanking. She got up each day before dawn and went up on deck, where she prayed for his safety and for courage and guidance for herself.

"And so, after many weeks, this family arrived at the Griffith John Camp and settled down with us. Her care for the family was almost an obsession with her. Several times I found her very weary after she had walked to Hankow and back (six miles each way), to enquire at the office where refugee students could register, what chances there were for her brother and sister to continue their Middle School studies. After some time the way opened for the girl to travel to Kweichow province, and for her brother to go to Hunan. (The Chinese authorities do their utmost to help students to complete their Middle School courses, as they regard the present generation of students as the potential leaders of

to-morrow). They felt deeply the break up of the family, but realized that it was all for the best.

"One day this girl came to me with a radiant face. She had had a letter from Nanking, and her husband was well, and very busy helping in the enormous refugee camp at Ginling College, where they cared for thousands. He asked her to do her utmost to join him there, but for the time being that was impossible, though she could get letters to him through a friend in Shanghai. Of her baby, she has heard nothing as yet, for no letters can get into, or out of, their village, which is in Japanese hands.

"No one can tell what the future holds for her, and many like her, but her stay in the camp has been like a time 'beside the still waters', and she trusts the Good Shepherd to guide her along the road that lies ahead, as He guided her through all the dangers of their flight from Shanghai."

The women of the churches in Wuhan have worked hard through their Dorcas and other societies, making bandages and other hospital requirements as well as quantities of clothing for destitute refugees. Others have given very valuable service in refugee camps. One well-to-do Christian has lent three of his houses rent free all these months to Christian refugee pastors and their families. Another, who is a wealthy merchant with a fine reputation for integrity in his business dealings, has done splendid service in organizing and carrying on entirely at his own expense a dressing station for wounded soldiers where they can be cared for while waiting to be transferred to regular hospitals. He has also supplied extra food and other comforts to the wounded in one of the military hospitals, visiting the patients himself and talking to them, and giving them New Testaments and specially written tracts. Large sums of money have been given by him to the Religious Tract Society and the Bible Societies, to pay for quantities of tracts and Scriptures to be dis-

tributed among the soldiers and refugees. Quantities of bedding and warm clothing have been given by this generous friend, who has also given of his valuable time to serving on committees of the International Red Cross Committee and many other benevolent institutions. His amazing generosity and unselfish service are outstanding and the more attractive when coupled with the very simple and unostentatious life that he lives. He has studied Greek and Hebrew and is a great Bible scholar, and he regularly conducts Bible-classes for his friends in his own home. To him "much has been given" and he is being "faithful in much".

Not many have such great opportunities as he, and not all are so faithful in those that they have. Yet there are many in these days who have been learning something of the joy that comes with unselfish service. The fine example of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai Shek, in their courageous and selfless devotion to duty, is having its influence among all classes, and they make no secret that they draw their inspiration from the supreme Sacrifice on Calvary. Their example has given courage to other highly placed officials to take a more definite stand as Christians, and others who as yet have made no profession of faith are now studying the Bible for themselves, to find out what it is that gives them this strength of character and honesty of purpose. A group of these officials were meeting at 7.30 each morning at the home of another Christian business man, to study the Bible under the leadership of one of the Chinese pastors. Another minor official invited a missionary to conduct a weekly Bible-class in his house, for members of his staff and others, several of whom were recently baptized as a result of their study.

And what of the ordinary Christians, how are they

reacting to the present conditions? Is their Christianity helping them? Let us listen first to their prayers. Among the things we notice are greater realization of their own weakness and need of the power of the Holy Spirit, confessions of their own sins and shortcomings, and of the sin of the nation in its slowness to accept Christ and follow Him, acknowledgment of the justice of God's judgements, together with a simple trust in His Power and Love. A verse from Micah vii. 9 seems to express their attitude in this respect: "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, until He plead my cause, and execute judgment for me; He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold His righteousness".

Very frequently there are prayers for the Japanese, that God will turn the hearts of the rulers and the militarists and help them to realize their sin, and that He will comfort the hearts of those who are mourning the loss of loved ones in this war. There is surprisingly little bitterness against the Japanese people as a people; for the Chinese realize that in neither nation have the common folk any say in the matter of whether there is to be a war or not, and, moreover, the Japanese people are not allowed to know the real truth about what their army is doing in China. The Christian women sympathize with the Japanese wives and mothers who are losing their husbands and sons in the war.

It would not be true though to say that there is no bitterness against the invaders who are so ruthlessly killing men, women and children and committing unspeakable atrocities, with aerial bombings of their own cities, killing and mutilating their own loved ones; with frightfully realistic life-sized posters constantly before their eyes on the walls and hoardings, shewing in vivid detail every

kind of horror that is being perpetrated; with inflammatory articles in all the newspapers; with terrible tales of suffering and brutal ill-treatment brought in by refugees from the war zone, they have no chance of forgetting these things and they simply would not be human if they did not feel bitter. Yet they say very little about it, and they pray for their enemies.

All through the winter and spring of the first year of war the ordinary work of the Church went on as usual, and with the help of Christian pastors from among the refugees additional work was undertaken. Bands of men and women conducted evangelistic services in some of the non-Christian camps to which they were able to gain an entrance; others visited the wounded soldiers in the hospitals. There has been a great readiness to listen to the Gospel.

Owing to the influx of refugee Christians from other places, ordinary church services were always crowded. In the summer of 1938, however, conditions changed. The terrible air-raids over Wuhan during August resulted in a great exodus of the local population, and churches in the specially dangerous districts were obliged to close, or greatly curtail their activities. Many of the refugees have moved further west, and a very large number of the local church members have left Wuhan or have sent their families away to safer places. So even in those churches that still remained open the congregations became smaller than usual, but there was still a good attendance at some of them. Most of the church leaders are still here and will be needed to help in relief work if conditions get worse, but some of them will follow their flocks to some of the up-country camps. With the near approach of the war front the Christian Emergency Relief is seeking for safe places in the country where camps can be organized

for Wuhan residents, to which they can flee should the Japanese succeed in reaching this neighbourhood.

The Chinese are naturally a rather timid people and, in view of the treatment meted out to young people of both sexes by the Japanese, the women being raped and the men shot, it is not surprising that some should have left their work and fled inland sooner than was necessary; but there are many others who have stuck nobly to their posts as long as it was possible to be of any service. Recently the small city of Kingshan was almost obliterated in a particularly cruel air-raid. At the time of the raid the Biblewoman happened to be outside the city, but instead of joining the crowds who were fleeing into the country, within two hours she had made her way back to do what she could to help the wounded. She found her home in flames. Practically the whole population had fled, except those who were killed outright or were buried under the ruins of the homes. There were some thousands of casualties in that little place, and it was days before some of the wounded could be extracted from under the debris, and conveyed to the nearest Mission hospital some twenty miles away, at Tsaoshih, under the London Missionary Society.

Trust in God is a very real thing to many Christians these days and gives them a peace of heart and mind that steadies them in the midst of danger. Look at this scene:

It is Wednesday evening and the usual week-night prayer meeting is being held in one of the largest churches in Hankow. Suddenly the sirens sound the air-raid warning and, as usual, hundreds of people from the surrounding streets and flimsily built houses of the neighbourhood crowd into the comparative safety of the large hall and other rooms on the ground floor of the strongly built church, with its upper floor of reinforced concrete.

Some of the deacons and other workers slip out of the meeting and go downstairs to calm and steady the milling crowds below. (There is not much noise because during air-raids the police do not allow people to speak above a whisper.) All the lights go out; but the brilliant moonlight, that has made the air-raid possible, streams in through the church windows onto the little group quietly waiting there. The pastor continues his address for a few minutes and then one after another leads in quiet prayer. After a time there is the sound of bombs exploding in the distance, and then the droning of enemy planes almost overhead can be heard, with the crash of nearby anti-aircraft guns. This means the possibility of bits of shell or shrapnel falling through the roof of the church, so the meeting is quietly closed and the congregation gathers under the reinforced concrete gallery at the back of the church and waits in silent prayer till the raid is over and the "all-clear" signal sounds. The lights come on again, the crowds below begin to disperse and we prepare to go home; but up the stairs come two Chinese Christian officers who have been attending the church while stationed in Hankow. They had arrived a bit late for the meeting and could not make their way through the crowds below. They are so disappointed, for they will not have many more chances of fellowship in prayer before they leave for the front. So back we all go into the church and have another half hour's meeting of prayer and praise for God's protecting care over us in the hour of danger. It is late when we reach home, but that has been a spiritual experience that will not soon be forgotten.

Here is another picture. This time the congregation is larger, for it is Sunday morning. The hymn-singing has drowned the sounds from outside and we do not know what is happening till a deacon announces that the

air-raid alarm has just sounded. "Let us remember", he says, "that God is our place of refuge and quietly trust in Him. Will those who feel that they must get back to their homes leave as quietly as possible, and the rest of us will continue the service." There is no fuss or excitement. About half the congregation slips quietly out and the rest continue the service as though nothing was happening. It is followed by the Communion Service. By this time the drone of the air planes and the bursting of bombs can be clearly heard; but nearer than the danger is the Unseen Presence, and in the peace that only He can give we join in the fellowship of the Holy Table.

A few weeks later in the same church. The war front is drawing nearer and the Government is using every effort to evacuate most of this huge population of nearly one and a half million people before the enemy arrives. A great many have already left for places far west of Hankow, among them a number of the more well-to-do of the Christians, so the congregations are gradually growing smaller. Camps are being formed in some of the Church's country out-stations, where the poorer Christians can be received and fed and housed until such time as it is safe to return to their homes. All who can possibly leave Wuhan are being urged to do so, though it means privation and much discomfort for perhaps months or years to come. Friends must part, and we wonder what the future holds for us all. The pastor announces a hymn. "What a Friend we have in Jesus." It is an old favourite and has meant much in the past to many there; but one wonders if it has ever been sung with such fervour as to-day. "Can we find a Friend so faithful, Who will all our sorrows share?" . . . As we join with them in the singing we realize that the "Friend that sticketh closer than a brother" is very near to our

Chinese brothers and sisters in this their hour of bitter trial, and that they are learning to know him as they could not do in the peaceful days.

What about the missionaries? Are they able to carry on their work or any part of it, or what are they doing? So far, in most Central China cities that are not yet in the actual war zone, the missionaries have been able to carry on nearly all their usual activities, with the addition of a considerable amount of relief work for refugees. The hospitals have had a great deal of extra work in caring for the more serious cases among the wounded soldiers, which are passed on to them from the military hospitals, and for the civilian victims of air raids. Their work is not likely to grow less, but owing to the indiscriminate raiding of these cities some Mission hospitals have had to leave their own buildings and are carrying on in temporary quarters in the former foreign concessions of Hankow, called Special Administrative Districts.

The ordinary pastoral and evangelistic work is continuing much as usual in those churches that have not yet had to close, but it is uncertain what will happen if the Japanese succeed in occupying this district. The work is sure to be restricted for a time, and it may be that some of the missionaries will have to follow their flock to the west. Some of the churches in the more dangerous districts here have no congregation left, all of their members having fled to other places owing to the terrible bombings.

In some of the places to the east the missionaries stayed till practically the whole population had fled, and then some moved westward themselves. In some cases one man or woman has stayed on to try and keep a hospital open and help those returning to the city, as the tide of war swept back and forth. Some have been able to carry

on in spite of all the horrors of war, but not all could stand the terrible strain.

There is plenty of work even for those who have had to leave their stations. Three ladies belonging to a Mission that has had all its five head stations destroyed in the war, stayed at their post through all the bombings till practically all the people had left. The husband of one remained in the city to keep the hospital open, and the ladies left with some of the few remaining Christians. After a very difficult and trying journey lasting a month in mid-winter, they arrived in Hankow. The married lady, who was ill, went on to Shanghai via Hong Kong. The other two have remained here and are doing a fine piece of work for the International Red Cross Committee, receiving all the supplies that come from abroad, and repacking them to fill the orders for the sixty or more hospitals that are being supplied from here. The large godown, or warehouse, which is used as a depot for this work has been lent free of charge by a British merchant of great public spirit. Many of these supplies have been sent out by the Lord Mayor's Fund from London.

It is difficult to see how the Red Cross and the British Fund Committee could have managed if these women missionaries had not been here to undertake this important and responsible work. As there is no chance of their getting back to their station for a considerable time, their Mission has now definitely lent them for this work. They have also been able to render valuable help to many of the Christians from their church who have passed through Hankow as refugees, assisting them to get in touch with relatives and friends who could provide for them, finding openings in schools that have moved west, where some of the young people could continue their

education, and stimulating them all with fresh hope and courage for the future. That this help has been appreciated is shown by the remark of a girl student to one of these ladies. She said, "You must often wonder why God brought you back to China to all this suffering you have endured, but *we* know why."

Other forms of missionary work, such as that of the Religious Tract Society and the Bible societies, are still carrying on. The sales of tracts and books are rather less than usual, as large districts are cut off by the enemy. It is nevertheless really astonishing how many places can still be reached by the wonderful service of the Chinese Post Office, whose faithful couriers often carry on close to the firing line. The printing press of the R.T.S. has been working at extra pressure to supply the need of the Bible societies. There is a great demand for Scripture portions for use among the troops. These cannot now be got from Shanghai except with much difficulty and after long delay, so they are now being printed locally by the R.T.S., which is thus adding a new chapter to its long history of valuable service to the Church.

Not the least important work of the missionaries in these days is the moral support and encouragement that they are able to give to their Chinese friends and colleagues. Their very presence has a steadying effect. Faced as the Chinese Christian leaders are with trials sufficient to test the strongest faith, with problems affecting their own families, and with calls on them for help in the reorganization of the nation, such as the settlement in new districts of the many millions of refugees and the development of new industries that will enable these millions to live (work that demands the service of men and women of character, integrity and ability, with a wide and far-seeing outlook), the understanding sympathy of

their missionary friends means much to them. In some cases very practical advice and help can be given; but even when this is not possible, just to be able to talk things over with someone who cares and understands something of the difficulties confronting them, and who is willing to share their burden by joining with them in the fellowship of prayer, linking their weakness on to the almighty power of the living God, gives them fresh strength and courage to do the work to which He is calling them. It has been well said that the great secret of help is encouragement.

VI

IN CENTRAL CHINA: CHANGSHA

WINIFRED GALBRAITH

Background

THE Chinese people, more united in spirit than they have ever been before, inhabit an area of forty-two and a half million square miles, which, like ancient Gaul, may be divided into three parts, often described as "occupied territory", "threatened areas" and "Free China". The difference is psychological as much as geographical. This chapter will try and give a picture of the life of ordinary people in the "threatened areas".

It is a bright October Sunday morning. Service was over at nine o'clock, and now I write in a Chinese garden—a little lake, a grotto of twisted rocks, an arched bridge and late roses flowering; and all around rise the lovely curving roofs and gilded pinnacles of a family temple. Here is quiet and peace in a crowded city. Then comes the long howl of a siren—the air-raid alarm. There is no panic. Special guards patrol the streets, every one proceeds to the dug-outs or whatever place is deemed safest; after a second warning, no movement or noise is allowed and a deeper quiet descends; but hardly peace, since every ear is stretched to listen. Generally in about half an hour comes either the "All clear" signal, when life begins again with a light sense of relief, "It's probably over for to-day";

or else there is a deep hum, "enemy planes". They fly in perfect formation over the city, circle round and back, usually untouched by the anti-aircraft guns. One hears dull explosions and vibrations, the crackle of machine-gun fire and then the humming dies away. Again there is no panic—fire brigades, ambulances, first-aid squads hurry in the direction of the explosions, where the uninjured are already helping the wounded, or removing what they can save of their possessions from wrecked buildings. There is little complaining or repining. Men survey their shattered homes and shops in stunned surprise. It is all so unexpected that the bereaved can hardly realize their loss.

"He just went upstairs and I called him to come down."

"He would go outside the dug-out to see the planes."

"Is he really dead?"

Traffic begins again, the shops take down their shutters and the city's work goes on with a curious nervous tension as the news of the damage and stories of the wounded are circulated. The old peasant whose farm is in ruins quietly trots up and down the rows of his narrow patch, counting how many are slightly damaged and how many could be picked for immediate sale. Isolated raids do not succeed in shattering civilian morale. Life for the living goes on as usual, but after every attack comes a further realization of the horrors of war, of fellowship with the suffering of the soldiers and of the ruthlessness of the enemy who seems to be doing his best to make every man, woman and child of China's four hundred million people into a combatant, while protesting that his quarrel is only with the militarists.

"What would you say to a Japanese student if you could talk to her?" a Chinese girl was asked.

"I should say, 'What would you think of me if I spoke

fair words to you and then came and dropped bombs on you?" " was the reply.

Air raids, then, are the background of ordinary life in Central China, the factor that must be reckoned in fixing the time of every meeting or appointment, that may and probably will upset any day's work and that inhabits a long-term view of most problems and schemes. Air raids have long ago emptied the cities of most of the richer people. No schools are allowed to open, and what was hitherto an educational centre with a university and medical college and more than seventy secondary schools has now lost all its student and teacher population. Businesses and industry are moving into the country. And those who have to stay adopt that most simple of all air-raid precautions, that of not being in the place where the bombs will fall. Daily a long procession of people carrying mats, kettles of water and little bundles of valuables, stream out of the city at dawn. They spend the day visiting acquaintances in the country or picnicking by the roadside and come back again in the afternoon when the shops open and banks and offices start business.

Many have gone, but others have come, and their coming has had a profound effect on the life of the city. In November 1938 wounded soldiers began to arrive in large numbers. Hitherto in China's many wars, wounded soldiers have not had much preferential treatment, and their lawless behaviour has made them feared rather than pitied. So inadequate were the preparations at first that when the military hospital was full, the overflow were dumped in an empty theatre and left for twenty-four hours with no food, coverings or dressings. Since then the organization and medical services have been greatly improved, though the standard of comfort and care is pitifully inadequate for suffering men; and wounded

soldiers' clubs run by voluntary organizations have done a good deal to bring about a better understanding between the soldiers and the civilians.

The other arrivals have been refugees, part of the Great Migration that is doing even more than the air raids to bring about the unity of the Chinese people. Something very like the Renaissance is happening during this shift of the cultural and intellectual centre of the nation from the north and the coastal regions to the far west. Communities isolated by poor communications from the rest of the world have been invaded by universities and their teaching staff, the leaders of all sorts of reform movements, people doing interesting pieces of work with new and stimulating ideas. This first kind of refugee is clearly an asset; the larger number are more of a problem.

One hundred million people are said to be moving west; fifteen million are estimated to be destitute. They are not the poorest (these had no money to go, and stayed to meet the invader), but the middle-class, small trader, primary school teacher, students and the like and their families. I have just read more than two hundred papers of students describing their experiences. In many different words they draw the same picture. The flight with the enemy a few miles away, the painful march, the high mountain, the exhausted dying by the roadside, the rain and cold, shelter in cattle sheds at night. There is the rapacious boatman who takes all their cash and dumps them out half-way, the soldiers who commandeer the bus or rickshaw, the bandits and guerrilla bands, detachments of the enemy on the other side of the hill. Just once or twice I wondered if the writer were venturing into romance, describing himself as the hero we should all like to be. One story is a spirited account of a fight

with bandits, but the end of the story is stark realism:

"Then more bandits came over the hill and everyone ran away, only thinking of himself. My mother and sister could not run as fast as I and I have not seen them again."

That is no Cut-throat Jack, the Terror of the Bandit Horde, but only a frightened little schoolboy running for his life. Sometimes these young people indulge in philosophy. "I have learnt", said one, "that if you are a refugee you must rely on yourself and be happy. Otherwise you cannot bear to live in the world any longer."

On arriving at a destination either permanent or temporary, these refugees can register and are assigned to camps where they get generally two meals of rice and vegetable a day. No one, in this part at least, has starved to death, but that is about all. One refugee, a university professor, describes an incident in a camp:

"One cold and rainy January day about ten o'clock when all the refugees were going to have some most rough dinner, I saw a couple of poor parents drag out a baby from under their thin and dirty bedclothes. Then I saw the poor mother put half a spoonful of rice into the mouth of the child. The baby opened its mouth a little and then died away in a few seconds. The poor and distressed parents weeped and put the little corpse aside as if they had done something rather shameful, for it seemed that the baby's death was something both sad and glad—for to support a child was a great burden to them. So to see one of their children die away was really, though tragically, pretty soothing to their heavy hearts."

If, as it is said, the majority of these people will not return, then one of the major reorganizations of the human race is in process. Air raids, wounded soldiers, refugees are the stuff of which our conversation and thinking is made. Resistance and reconstruction are the slogans. Vast schemes for industrial reconstruction, agri-

cultural reconstruction, economic, social and educational reform, are on paper and beginning to take shape. The great disruption of population, the movements to rural districts, the change in the work and status of women, the significance of almost every kind of effort, since all are part of what is seen as a life and death struggle, are making, irrevocably, the new China of which so much is heard. With the horror and desolation of war before our eyes, there is still hope and courage and determination in word and deed, that a fairer China shall come out of this conflict.

The Task of the Church

This is the background against which the Christian life has to be lived and the work of the Church to be carried on in China to-day. The Chinese Church is challenged first to a Faith, a psychological and emotional confidence that will enable men not only to live at all "in company with Pain, and Fear and Bloodshed—miserable Train", but also "to turn necessity to glorious gain"; secondly to a heroic and colossal task of serving the afflicted; and thirdly to clear and constructive thinking about the problems which the nation has to solve.

The Life of the Church

To begin with, in a very practical way the family of Christ has stood together and learnt a new solidarity and fellowship. Christian groups, often led by their pastors, have fled together, and on arriving at permanent or temporary resting places have sought the local churches and almost always received generous hospitality. I am not sure if churches in some other countries would have borne so well such a practical test of Christian brotherhood. Would a party of forty or fifty destitute Christians

arriving at the Manse, Belham Green, or St. Michael and All Angels' Rectory, Fiddle-in-the-Hole, be certain of a welcome; or would not deacons and vestries be inclined to murmur something about the superior accommodation of the casual ward? This has been a service rendered with little acknowledgment of hosts by church workers at no small personal inconvenience. The patience and fortitude of refugees is remarkable, but in China, as elsewhere, babies cry, and small children are troublesome, and guests, especially unbidden ones, are inclined to be exacting. St. Luke seldom needs amplifying, but I have wondered several times this winter what the host thought when the tuppence was exhausted and the man who fell among thieves stayed on, complaining that the food was bad, the wine sour and the beds dirty.

In the main it has been a process of mutual gain. New-comers from down river, often from other denominations, have entered into the life of the Church and enriched it greatly. Pastors and evangelists have preached and helped in many ways. One well-educated and energetic young group of seven women organized themselves into a preaching band and offered their services to country churches to help bring other newcomers into fellowship. From Shensi comes news of a revival starting with the work of two refugee brothers. An orphanage, leaving Nanking on the last train, came after great hardship to Sian, and the Superintendent arranged to take some of the older girls and the staff on a preaching tour during the harvest holiday. Often strangers have an advantage over local prophets grown a little stale by familiarity, and pastors whose congregations had dwindled almost to nothing have found fresh hope and encouragement from keen new members and meeting places crowded to the doors. Dr. T. C. Chao suggests that as family ties and

the old organization of the village temples break up, the Church may be the organization to supply that link of social solidarity and responsibility so needed in the body politic. This is an optimistic view when one considers the detachment of the young intelligentsia from ordinary church life, but in the lessening of geographical and denominational barriers and the general quiet confidence and willing spirit of service there is ground for hope.

The Service of the Church

The urgency of the situation and the misery of the sufferers have driven most, if not all, Chinese Christians to a deeper comprehension of their faith and calling. Many facing death from the air at any minute and the possibility of invasion in a short time, called on for various kinds of service needing tact and judgement, have come to depend on God in a new way with a glad confidence. There is, of course, the rather glib "God saved me because I prayed to Him this morning" type of self congratulation, but in the main, belief in God has meant a real conquest over natural fear and timidity. At the first air-raid in this city, one member of a church team was overcome at the sight of a mutilated body and had to be assisted off the scene by the rest of the team, but she has trudged forth staunchly at every succeeding raid and rendered valiant service. In many places churches are used as refuges, and very "ordinary" church members are seen calming nervous women, cheering frightened children and quite simply explaining the grounds of their surety. We have a gospel of hope and reconciliation. Last Christmas Day I went out with a party of elderly women to a wounded soldiers' camp. It was wretched weather, and as they tottered on bound feet through the mud, I wondered how these old biddies could proclaim

the gospel of Christ to wounded men. I felt very ashamed when I saw them do it. They perched themselves on the edge of the beds and talked to the men as if they had been their sons and grandsons. They gave out tracts with simple hymns, and soon all up and down the long hut little groups were singing, "There is only one Saviour". "God loves everyone", said one old lady. "Does He love the Japanese?" put in a man stretched out on a wire frame. And like a shot she came back with, "Do you love your naughty little boy?"

To men lying untended, hungry or plagued with flies and mosquitoes, to refugees sick or lacking clothes, words seem a poor offering, and it is not surprising that the Church should find itself increasingly impelled to deeds. Succour for the wounded soldiers in transit, service for air-raid victims, hospitals for the sick, clothing and education for refugees have all been undertaken by Christians in this city, either separately or in co-operation with others. There have been failures, of course, but society has expected of Christians unselfish sacrificial service for all in need; and, in general, because the Christian groups have a certain experience in organization, being honest and disinterested workers, and have something of the vague thing we call "Christian spirit", they have often been able to succeed where others have failed. Last winter when a refugee camp moved from a church school into other quarters the cost of the food went up three cents a head, and the inmates held a meeting of protest at the deterioration in the menu. Indeed, it is a little terrifying to note the number of civic and charitable responsibilities which the Church is being asked to assume.

The Thinking of the Church

(a) *Nationalism.* This invitation and urge to co-operate in many different activities has, of course, great dangers. So many of the heads of the Government departments are Christians, and these turn to the Church for help, and it is difficult for the state not to make use of any organized body. As the war goes on, one sees more and more a regimentation of thought and loss of individual liberty. Aldous Huxley points out that wars in defence of democracy end by taking away the democracy of the defenders, and that is slowly happening in China to-day. At the express command of the Generalissimo, the Christian groups were invited to preach to the wounded, but the proviso is now added that no word should be spoken of "communism" or anything said that might make the wounded less anxious to return to the front. It is often difficult in listening to Christian exhortations to distinguish between working hard to win the war, serving Christ, and as it is so often said "bearing the Cross of Christ" which is usually equated with the personal dangers and losses brought on the individual or the nation by war. As a Christian leader reminds us it is very easy in wartime to be more patriotic than Christian. It has been a very great spiritual and emotional experience for Chinese Christians to feel united with their fellow-countrymen in this their darkest hour, but national unity for the Christian cannot be put before freedom to do the Will of God, and the more the Church co-operates with the State in relief work, the harder it is to preserve any independence of method or even thought.

(b) *Internationalism.* A right connection of the Chinese Church with the whole Church Militant should and does correct a too narrow nationalism, and the practical sympathy of the rest of the world with China's plight has

done much to break down old antipathies "I never really believed this talk of a world family", said the secretary of an international organization one day, "till I saw letter after letter come in August bringing good wishes and money from almost every country." Some unemployed girls in the North of England collected four pounds for the Y.W.C.A. China Fund, and our members here received their gift with tears at such a costly expression of sympathy. Their sacrifice is perhaps matched by the girls in the Orphanage for the Blind in this city who gave five dollars, money earned by knitting, to the Refugee Hospital here.

With regard to Japan, the more thoughtful are beginning to realize the deep thinking as well as good willing that will have to take place before any sort of reconciliation can be achieved. The Young People's Christian group in a Government university proposed a united day and time of prayer with Japanese Christian students, and wrote a letter (sent by hand) declaring that the bonds forged in Christ stood, in spite of the desolation inflicted by the militarists. When their university was bombed a few weeks later and two students killed, it was the same group who were asked by their classmates to explain why they were conspicuously unafraid and what Christianity had to offer as a practical creed for people in distress and danger.

But the lack of animus of the nation as a whole, in these parts at least, is remarkable, and is not only a trait of Christians. It seems incredible stupidity that these two people should be at war. While writing this, I have spent many hours and much energy on the unhappy affairs of a little Japanese woman. She has been married to a Chinese for six years and has had four children, but after the birth of the last child, a boy, the husband and his first

wife have turned against her and are threatening to kill her. He accused her to the police of spying (quite unproved) and she fled to us for protection. Not only have our own staff and her neighbours taken her part and done all they could for her, but the officials have treated her with courtesy and have gone to much trouble in investigating and settling the matter. As the rather stupid but kind little policeman who came to make inquiries declared, "We are all fellow-men, one family. I have sisters of my own, and he ought not to treat you badly even if you are a Japanese. We will protect you." And that on a day when enemy planes had bombed the city and killed a score of people.

(c) *Economic Reconstruction*. One hopes that it is only here that every one is yielding to the urge to practical service and that elsewhere, in West China, Christians are doing deep and constructive thinking about the kind of new China that is to be built. The worst thing about war, perhaps, is that it creates the sort of atmosphere where clear constructive thinking is impossible. The united front necessary to beat the enemy tends to become a slavish suppression of all but one opinion. It is easier to shout slogans than to solve a problem, and in face of wounds undressed and children hungry it is only too easy to plunge into activity and to feel that everything except practical service is not worth doing. "The Professor with the Bedpan", the college professor tending wounded soldiers on the railway, is going to be the Chinese equivalent of the "Lady with the Lamp", but the great Florence herself put organizational efficiency a long way before romantic pity. Amid so much that needs doing, the task of Christian thinking tends to be shelved and yet it is as urgent as any. There are many things that commend Christianity to thoughtful Chinese to-day—the

conduct of individual Christians from the highest in the land downwards, their many deeds of mercy (probably equalled by Buddhists), their alleged possession of a faith that can survive the disintegration of the times; but Christianity is something more than a "Christ-like spirit of service", and in the welter of new ideas, many look to Christians for clearer guidance than is forthcoming at present. We are sometimes told that the Church has nothing to say on questions of economics or politics, but nevertheless individual Christians have got to decide where they stand in these matters. Facing China at the moment is the urgent question of industrial reconstruction. Are the capitalist system, large industry, sweated labour and the like to be rebuilt in the interior or are small industrial co-operatives to be the order of the day? Can China really establish a sound economic life with her present system of land tenure and village organization? These and like questions are being asked by young people to-day, and it sometimes seems as if the Church in the East, like the Church in the West, might become tied up with the *status quo*, with the preservation of the rights and privileges of the middle-class and the preaching of an other-worldly contentment to the poor.

The young look for direction and an ideal to serve, and there is in China at least one group that offers a very real challenge to Christianity in thought as well as in deed—that is the group known now as the Eighth Route Army.

For years Communism has attracted the most ardent Chinese youth. Membership of the party has offered an exciting secrecy, a clean break with the past and its fetters, often with the family and all its entanglements, a revolutionary solution of China's economic and political woes, and for those who were prepared to give their all, service

in an army that like Garibaldi offered "cold and hunger, forced marches, wounds and death".

Since the "Sian incident" of December 1936 and the formation of a United Front the Red Army has been renamed the Eighth Route Army and entrusted with the defence of the North-West and the promotion of guerrilla warfare over the whole of the territory nominally occupied by the Japanese in the North. While a few of the leaders hold important government positions in Hankow, the Eighth Route Army headquarters at Yen-an, a small town in North Shensi, is becoming the Mecca to which all the most adventurous are journeying. There are two so-called universities, the "Resist the Enemy" University and the North Shensi Communist University, giving short-time courses in propaganda and guerrilla war; there is an Art College and a School of Dramatic Art. In all about ten thousand students are turned out every three months. A long procession of boys and girls trudge up the three-hundred-mile road from Sian—it is said about five hundred a week enlist, and more than seventy per cent of the graduates go on to the Front at the end of their course.

In the district for which the Eighth Route Army is responsible the people are being organized into groups, all of which are part of a big "Resist the Enemy Society". Each small place has its Farmers' Union, Merchants' Union, Workers' Union, Women's Union, etc. Each group elects representatives to divisional assemblies, and they in their turn elect to the Central Political Council at Yen-an. And it is through these sectional groups that all the activities of society are planned. Self-defence corps, shock brigades for harvesting, farmers' co-operatives, workers' co-operatives, propaganda groups and literary classes—it is one big comprehensive plan to direct all the

energy of the people into winning the war, that is, driving out the invader.

Any discussion of the Communist or Fascist systems invariably arouses a crowd of protagonists and antagonists, pink-eyed or jaundiced, and it is hard to be impartial. I visited Yen-an this spring and could not fail to be impressed with what I saw, though I doubted the complete truth of some of what I was told, that is, I thought that the execution was probably less good than the paper plan. The students and indeed the leaders are living Spartan lives in caves they have dug out of the hillsides. There were no chairs or tables; every one carried round a square of wood on which he squatted. Classes and meals were out of doors. Food cost seven cents a day (less than a penny) and consisted of millet (no rice or flour) and one vegetable. The students worked hard and were alert and intelligent. On Sunday afternoon, their one free time, they spent three hours sitting in the sun listening to a lecture on English Foreign Policy, and they kept the lecturer answering questions till he and his translator were nearly voiceless. Dr. T. R. Glover says somewhere that Christianity conquered the pagan world because it outlived the pagan world, out-thought the pagan world, and out-died the pagan world. Communism offers the same sort of challenge to Christianity in China to-day. At Yen-an these people were certainly living harder and simpler lives than most of us. Their thinking, based of course on Marxism, offers a set of clear-cut propositions, very satisfactory to youth "hot for certainty". We, as Christians, are equally certain that Christ and what He stands for is the Ultimate Truth by which the world may find salvation, but we are often far less persistent and intelligent in proclaiming it, and by the nature of the case we cannot offer dogmatic solutions for economic and

political ills. And as for dying, in the guerrilla warfare that is being carried on all over China, a Canadian doctor wrote recently, after working behind the lines in the North-West: "It is one procession of misery and appalling conditions. . . . The wounded gradually dying of sepsis, undernourishment and dehydration, rejected by life and unclaimed by death."

I have written at length of the Eighth Route Army because it is the group to which more and more the young are looking for direction, and the leaders with whom I talked seemed to me to have as wise and clear-sighted a vision of China's problems and their solution as anyone I have met in China. Now, as never before, is the time for Christians to meet them in friendship and co-operation, to work out the implications and deficiencies of their thinking and to show them Christ, the Saviour of all men.

Afterword

I have re-read this very critically. Have I painted too bright a picture?—what about ordinary services, rather dull prayer meetings, a great many gaps left by people who have gone away? I think we have failed in thinking; many of us fail in prayer; but the Christian Church in China, down to the most ignorant members, knows that it is called to love and to sacrificial service and is trying in many different ways to learn how to be "more than conquerors through Him that loved us".

VII

THE STUDENT WORLD

EVA SPICER

THE Christian student world is part of the whole Christian Church in China. Yet owing to the peculiar place and importance of the school in China to-day, and the close affiliations of the Christian schools with the Government system, the Christian student world has a distinct life of its own, and calls perhaps for separate treatment to get a clear picture of what is happening.

For a true understanding of the situation in which Christian schools, colleges and universities find themselves to-day, it is necessary to realize at the outset that China is not following the policy of recruiting the student class for service at the front, not even those of university age, though she is giving them military training. She is deliberately doing her best to preserve the great educational institutions which were established by government in the now occupied areas. Teachers and students have trekked from Peiping to Kunming (Yunnan), from Nanking to Chengtu, from the coastal provinces to the mountains of the west, while the Government is continuing to support and enlarge the institutions in the interior.

Let us frankly admit that it is not at first sight a policy which those of us who come from the West find it altogether easy to understand. We remember our uni-

versities empty of men during the years of the war, we remember the great services rendered by young officers of the student class to the fighting strength of the nation, we remember also that the student class in China has been in the forefront of the patriotic movement and in the demand for war with Japan, and we are apt to be critical, and to feel that they are evading the great sacrifice.

The reason for this particular policy lies deep in China's past, in the value that she has always accorded to scholar as against soldier, and also in the realization that struggling as she is to find her place in the world of to-day, her modern educated class is still a very small one and must be preserved and increased to meet the needs of the future rather than squandered on the battlefield. But while this is the general policy it should also be said that many young men of good family, who would hitherto have despised the calling of a soldier, have offered themselves in large numbers as officers and aviators, especially the latter. All military and technical schools are full to overflowing, while many of the student class have also joined the Eighth Route Army and the guerrilla bands in various parts of the country.

As to the general policy of preserving the student class for the future or sending them to die in great numbers on the battlefield, it is not necessary to settle here which is the right one. Though when we are inclined to be critical of the Chinese policy we do well to remind ourselves that the Europe of to-day, governed as it is by neurotics and mediocrities, having killed off in the Great War what should have been the flower of the present adult generation, is not the best advertisement for our policy. It is sufficient for our present purpose to grasp the fact that the preservation of her educational institutions is the considered policy of the Chinese Government, and

it is in harmony with that policy that the Christian student world is functioning to-day.

Another important thing to bear in mind is that in those occupied areas where there is anything like normal government, such as the Peiping and Tientsin areas, schools as powerful means of influencing large numbers of the young receive more attention from the Japanese authorities than churches or hospitals. Not only is anything which might be considered in any way to be encouraging resistance to Japan sternly suppressed, but efforts are made to enlist the support of the schools in a pro-Japanese campaign. This involves not only political but straight moral issues, for while a man may feel that it is no use resisting the present regime at the moment he may yet feel that he has no desire to stand up and tell what to him are lies in its support; so that all members of the school are placed in a very difficult position. The peculiar situation of the school in relation to the Japanese authorities helps to explain why they, more than other sections of the Christian community, are on the move from occupied to free China, when such a step is at all possible.

The Christian student world is indeed a world in upheaval, a world that has taken to the road. Of the fourteen Christian universities and colleges, only four finished their last year's work on their own campus; the rest have moved, either further into the interior, or within the bounds of the International Settlement in Shanghai. Of those four, two have moved this last autumn, Central China University from Wuchang to Kweilin and Lingnan University from Canton to Hong Kong. Of the remaining two, Yenching University in Peiping has its own very real problems to face, and is engaged in a gallant struggle to preserve a genuinely free, Christian and Chinese,

education; while West China University in Chengtu has opened its campus with great hospitality to refugee institutions from other areas, and faces the joys and difficulties that arise from such a situation. So that it is true to say that every one of the Christian universities and colleges has been radically affected by the war.

The far greater number of middle schools makes it impossible to give an adequate picture of what has happened to all of them, but the same general tendencies are visible—a gallant effort to continue—though some have been unable to do so—either by moving westward or by concentrating in Shanghai. In a few cases they have carried on as well as possible in the occupied areas, where they are now the sole exponents not only of a Christian, but also of a Chinese, education.

One aspect of the situation that must not be overlooked is the fact that the Japanese aggression has been going on for longer than this one year. As early as 1915, if not before, many of China's students felt keenly the oppressive influence of the island neighbour. But since September 18th, 1931, seven long weary years have elapsed with an accumulation of incidents that are not forgotten by Chinese students who take such an active interest in the affairs of their nation. On the other hand, we may give high praise to these young men and women who have maintained a high courage in the face of an ever-present and ever-increasing menace. On the one hand, we must realize that during this time of seven years, students in Japan have been able to pursue their studies under peaceful and normal conditions. The many interruptions that have affected the academic studies of Chinese students have created a further inequality between the students of the two nations, which is no fault of China's seekers after knowledge.

In Shanghai there must be nearly fifty thousand students in the middle schools and colleges. These constitute a fairly large proportion of the students in China to-day. If we consider the restriction under which they are working, we may see another side of the strain imposed upon the youth of China. These tens of thousands of students are studying mainly in office buildings. They have entered on a second year of education in which there is little chance of their living the normal life of a student. In the restricted area to which they are shut in there is practically not one place or field available for physical exercise. Parents, teachers and students who are living in peaceful areas of the world may well ponder on the mental and physical suffering entailed by such conditions. To endure some hardships and sufferings that last for a few months or a year is one thing, but to endure many hardships and sufferings that appear to have no end is likely to have a permanent effect on the mental make-up and attitude of China's future citizens.

A word of explanation might be said about this concentration in Shanghai, which will perhaps seem to some like rather a cowardly policy, the running to a safe place, and the leaving behind of the needy and helpless. But that is hardly a fair picture. That Shanghai is not a safe place for those Chinese who continue to uphold the rights of free speech and natural patriotic expression of feelings is shown by the murder in broad daylight of Dr. Herman Liu, President of the Christian University of Shanghai, by pro-Japanese assassins. On the other hand, it is a place where real education can still be carried on, which is practically impossible in many other areas in East China for a variety of reasons. In some places conditions are far too unsafe for school work, in others the school buildings are occupied by soldiers, and always there is the

possibility of impossible conditions being imposed upon the schools by Japanese controlled governments. The concentration of education for the East China area in Shanghai is for the present simply a sound practical policy, not without danger for the leading Chinese engaged in this work. The fact that such a concentration over a long period of time would not be in the best interests either of the students or of China is well-recognized. Certain institutions have already transferred all their work to the west. Others are sending out scouting parties to the south-west to see what might be done there; while in the occupied areas around Shanghai, still tragically unsettled and dangerous, Christian churches are feeling their way gradually to what can be done in educational work. They fully recognize their responsibility to those who are living there, but conditions are still too obscure for any one to know yet what can and what cannot be done.

This whole adaptation to a different and always changing environment has demanded from teachers and students alike much personal sacrifice and hardship. In many cases teachers' salaries have been cut very considerably, in others the school has felt that nothing could be guaranteed at all and simply agreed that they would share what they had among the teachers; and for the most part these rather drastic financial rearrangements have been accepted cheerfully and willingly. For both teachers and students there has been much to bear in the way of very close and crowded living and studying quarters. It can easily be imagined that in going to an already full city or another full school much doubling up has to take place if all are to be accommodated. Fortunately the setting up of new hostels is a very much simpler process in China than it would be in England. A student always brings his own bedding and wash basin. It is much easier to add pails

than modern flush water-closets. I have known an empty house equipped for the use of thirty persons in less than three days. But tempers are the same the whole world over, and it is not so easy for seven people who have been used to a room of their own to live together in one room. That, of course, is only a minor difficulty.

The most significant thing about this whole movement is the amount of creative faith it has revealed. Real faith is needed—faith on the part of the teachers that the school is worth carrying on and can be carried on; faith on the part of students that their school can carry on under difficult conditions, faith on the part of the administration that money and buildings will be forthcoming for the running of the school, and faith on the part of the supporters at home that these enterprises are worthy of support. The continued existence of one small school or college may not seem of any great importance, especially against the vastness of China and its problems, and doubtless the disappearance of one or many of these groups would hardly make a ripple on the surface of life in China. Yet in a country like China where in the past the only group tie that meant much was the family tie, the ability to create small centres of fellowship through faith in a common purpose, that is, groups founded on a spiritual not a purely material or economic basis, is a tremendously vital and important asset. It is one of the signs which hail the slow dawning of the Kingdom of God in China.

Another encouraging sign is the willingness of those who have to share with those who have not. I have already mentioned the hospitality of West China University in sharing its campus and its buildings. The University of Nanking, Cheloo University, Ginling College, and the Medical and Dental School of Central University (a Government university from Nanking) have

found refuge there and have been given not only shelter, but the use of valuable equipment. Central China College in Wuchang received in the first semester of the war as many students from other institutions as it could. Another example was in Shanghai, where during the spring term of 1938 seven institutions were centred. The institutions were St. John's, the University of Shanghai, Shanghai Christian Medical College for Women, Soochow University, Hangchow Christian College, the University of Nanking, and Ginling College. The only one out of these seven which had access to their equipment was St. John's, whose campus on the boundary was free and untouched, though it was not felt safe to hold classes there owing to the close proximity of the Japanese soldiers. A plan of co-operation was worked out, and St. John's generously made available for all the other institutions their library and laboratory equipment, without reserving for themselves any special privileges. The whole co-operative scheme, though not without its problems and difficulties, worked out very well. The real spirit of co-operation was well symbolized by the joint graduation exercises which were held in June.

A fair proportion of the energy and initiative of the Christian schools, both of teachers and of students, has gone in trying to carry on under difficult and trying circumstances. The University of Nanking opened on its own campus when air raids were an almost daily occurrence. Schools have done this because that has seemed to them their first duty. But that is not the whole story. Most of the schools within a reasonable distance of the front have rendered some form of direct service to the soldiers, wounded or whole. While they were still in Nanking detachments of students went down to the station to help the wounded soldiers on their way through.

Schoolgirls in Hanyang visited the newly formed hospital in the city to write letters for the soldiers and to help in other ways. Another group of schoolgirls in Nanchang carried on an educational programme among the convalescent soldiers who were sharing their campus with them. A group from Ginling College, teachers and students, found such appalling conditions in the station at Wuchang that they were instrumental, with the help of Central China University and the Y.W.C.A., in setting up a proper rest station, where soldiers could have their wounds seen to and the more seriously wounded could rest before going to their final destination. These are but a few of the examples that might be cited.

So unprepared was the Chinese Army Medical Service for war on such a vast scale that the suffering of the wounded has been terrible. It was useless to wait for complete organisation, and therefore many groups and individuals have tried to help where and when they could, dealing with just that one point in this terrible mass of human suffering which they could reach. The service they rendered in this respect was one of the contributing causes to the setting up of the National Christian Service Council for Wounded Soldiers in Transit. Dr. A. R. Kepler had been commissioned by the National Christian Council to see where the greatest need lay, and he was much impressed not only by the telling pictures of conditions written by a Christian teacher, but also by what had been already done in various places.

Since the inauguration of this service for wounded soldiers many of the workers have been college students or former students. One report says: "The workers are almost exclusively students over twenty and college and middle-school teachers. They receive 5.00 dollars a month and board, the team leader 15.00 dollars a month, and the

Regional directors 40.00 dollars. This means sacrificial service with no other reward than the satisfaction of service for those who have been wounded in the defence of their country."

The services which these teams perform vary from giving the soldiers water and food, to the dressing of wounds and the writing of letters, for even the most elementary needs are not necessarily provided for. The following stories give some idea of the activities of the teams:

"The gentleman climbing into the box car with the bed-pan in his hand was a professor of one of China's best-known universities. Inside the car he found the floor covered with heavily wounded men unable to move and lying so close together that it was difficult to find a footing. For more than two days they had lain here with no attention whatever. The filth and the stench were overpowering. Alone and unaided, for other workers were busy in other cars, the professor began with a bed-pan, wash basin and towels to clean the men up."

"Our team arrived at Weinan (in Shensi) on March 12th, and as there were no wounded moving for a few days we offered to work in the base hospital. The Y.M.C.A. group, which was already there, heartily welcomed us. We spent our time playing victrola records, writing letters for those who could not write, relating the latest news and in private conversation. We undertook a vigorous sanitary programme, which included bug suppression and washing of clothing and bedding for those who could not wash their own. In three days we washed over one thousand bed sheets. Magazines, books and papers were distributed and chess tournaments promoted. More than two hundred took part each day in these special activities."

A girl who had had just one year in college wrote as follows: "Later the wounded came more and more, and they were short of trained nurses, so I was called to make use of the nursing training I had in my freshman year to help dress their wounds. I must admit that my heart beat terribly fast after I opened some of the bandages, and my hands trembled as I handled them, but I got over that after a few days."

The Chinese Y.M.C.A. has used its resources and its student members for non-combatant service to soldiers and the wounded. The army authorities have willingly accepted all the various offers of help along this line, and have been glad for the Christian groups to give spiritual as well as material service, where the occasion was fitting. It might be noted in passing that the Japanese Army during the many months that they have now occupied Nanking seem to have done nothing for soldiers in the way of social or moral welfare, and apparently have not welcomed such offers of help as they did receive from Christian quarters in Japan.

Wounded soldiers are not the only people in need of help to-day in China. The civilian refugees constitute a tremendous problem, and here too the Christian students have helped. The *alumnae* of one college were mainly responsible for the organization for clothing the refugees in the camps in Shanghai. Most of the people left their homes in summer without the opportunity of bringing along their winter clothes with them, and when the cold weather came their condition was pitiful. Another university took over the staffing and running of one of the camps, which was noted for the co-operative and kindly spirit that it showed.

There is another side to student life at this time. Some students so far from being in a position to help others

have themselves been in need of help. Separated perhaps by the vicissitudes of war from their own family, and without resources of any kind, they have been destitute. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. have taken special responsibility for such students. For a time the Y.W.C.A. in Hankow opened a hostel for them, and efforts have been made either to find them work, or else to assist them to rejoin their school and continue their study, where such seems the right thing for them to do. Funds from abroad have been used to help students with their travel expenses and fees.

There are also some students, as there always are in all countries, who do not seem to have awakened to the seriousness of the situation. They are being allowed by their country to finish their education in relative peace and quiet, but they do not fully realize what a responsibility that puts upon them of using their time to the utmost advantage so that they may be of service in the future. Centres far away from the war areas, the colony of Hong Kong, or such a place as Shanghai, which is artificially somewhat separated from the rest of China, do not perhaps provide the same challenge as other regions. It is part of the responsibility of Christian schools and colleges to keep always before the students at what a cost their period of relatively peaceful study is being bought, and to urge them on to greater endeavour.

I have tried to give a brief account of the external activities of Christian students in these days of crisis. They may perhaps be summed up in three pursuits—travel, study and service. What of the inner attitudes, their thoughts and conflicts? This is a hard question to answer. I have heard it said, by those who should know, that the fear and suffering through which the people in the occupied areas have gone have made them deeply

conscious of their need for help, and that ministers and teachers have never had more receptive listeners and learners than they have to-day for the message of the Gospel. I do not think that the same deep harrowing of the spiritual life of the students has yet taken place.

There are certain things that it seems to me can be said about their attitudes, but everybody's reaction would probably be somewhat different. In the first place it is clear that the average Chinese Christian student's reaction to the present situation is predominantly Chinese, and not specifically Christian. The Church throughout the world is so tragically unconscious of herself as a supra-national foundation, so delivered over to the strongly nationalistic feelings that are to be found in each country, that in the peculiarly difficult and distressing situation in which China finds herself to-day it would be nothing short of miraculous if there was a large group of students who reacted first and foremost as Christians. There is no such large group. They regard the war as entirely one of defence that was forced upon them and look for the support of the Christian Church not only in the service of China, but, if there were any possible means, also in the stopping of Japan's aggression. The more intelligent of them recognize the danger to religion in the growth of the nationalistic and totalitarian state, but they feel that in such a plight as China is to-day the Church should for the moment put herself completely behind the national programme, and if she did so they acknowledge that she could make a real contribution to the building up of the national character.

On the other hand, side by side with the acknowledgment of the real services the Christian Church has rendered, there is a growing impatience on the part of some students, even among the Christians, with the failure of

Christianity to produce anything in the way of a positive programme for the reconstruction of a sick society, and a growing feeling that while Christianity has rendered excellent ambulance service and has given strength and consolation to many individuals and groups, yet it will be Communism rather than Christianity which will have the most to offer in the period of reconstruction.

There is much room here for discouragement and apprehension, but there are, I think, at least two movements of the Spirit which are more hopeful for the future. It is true that the number of Chinese Christian pacifists are few in China to-day, though there are some. One or two have already suffered for the courageous expression of their opinions. Among the missionary community on the other hand there are a considerable number of Christian pacifists, though it is not a position that they find emotionally at all easy to take to-day, and they have not been, perhaps, entirely without influence. They have tended to reinforce the natural Chinese tendency to prefer non-combatant to combatant service. Their influence is also shown among the more thoughtful students by the fact that the students do not forget that Jesus told His disciples to love their enemies, enemies who must have seemed to the Jews very like the Japanese seem to the Chinese to-day. They do not for the most part feel they can live up to this standard. There is perhaps more definite hate for and bitterness against the Japanese among the student class than in any other, perhaps because they realize more clearly the terrible things that are happening and will happen to China as a result of this war. But those who think are haunted by that command. In any discussion group the question is almost certain to come up, "Can we love our enemies?" "How can we love the Japanese?" "What good would it do if we could, would

it stop them?" They are not prepared for the most part even to begin to carry it out; as one student said to me, "Let Jesus love the Japanese", implying that she personally did not feel equal to it. But they cannot quite forget that it is what Jesus said and what Jesus did. The Chinese Church is not generally held to be theologically-minded in any creative sense, but there is a certain directness of approach to the ethical challenges in the teaching of Jesus which may serve to bring the Church back to a sense of how tragically she has failed to incarnate in any concrete way in her life on earth some of the things for which Jesus undoubtedly stood.

Another place where, it seems to me, the Spirit of God is at work is in the attitude not so much of the present student class as of the Christian teachers and former students towards the weaknesses which the present war has revealed in their own people. They have a sense of deep and bitter shame, especially when the weaknesses are displayed by those in high places. In a country in which the majority of the people live on the poverty line the whole time, it is no wonder if some are found to serve the enemy for money. But it is not only the poor and uneducated who have sold their country for money. The rich and educated have done so too. And many, if they have not actually sold information for their private profit, have shown themselves selfish and indifferent to the welfare of their country, putting themselves and their family first. This feeling of shame is not very vocal nor often expressed, for it is a hard and bitter thing to acknowledge; but among the more thoughtful it is there, and its presence is of real importance. I do not wish to suggest that this feeling is confined to Christians. Many Chinese of fine character who are not Christians would feel the same. But it seems to me among the Christians it might be of

particular importance and bear fruit in the future. For surely reconciliation between the churches of the different nations, now so tragically divided by their national quarrels, can only come if the churches are willing to face together their own faults specifically rather than generally, so that with each trying to see their own nation as God sees it rather than trying to defend it, they will all come together in their common love for God. There will be a common facing of the task of redemption, each of them working mainly in their respective countries, but drawing their insight and inspiration from their fellowship with the whole. Living in China to-day with the weight of suffering heavy upon one, it is so easy to feel that all the fault lies on the other side that it is well that we who are members of and workers in the Chinese Church, whether Chinese or foreign, should realize truly our own failures and sins and accept the burden of them, as others must for their own nations. The Cross reconciles not only man to God, but man to man.

In conclusion it is true, I think, that the real testing of the Christian student world, and indeed of the Christian Church, lies ahead. Difficult and trying in many ways as this past year has been, there has been a certain excitement in the strangeness of new experiences. Travelling is interesting as well as tiring. Even in Shanghai life has a tension which prevents boredom. Moreover the Christian Church is clear about its duty in relief work. But in the long days which lie ahead, with the many problems of life in the occupied areas especially the right and Christian adjustment to the conquerors, and with the equally great problems of the free areas, the Christian Church is going to be greatly tested as a creative and not merely a salvaging agency. The Christian student will be tested too. For it will be the day to day patient work,

without excitement, thrill, or reward that will tell. Conditions will get increasingly difficult, and every man and his work will be tested as if by fire. Let us pray that the promise of courage and endurance that this year has given may be fulfilled, and that there will be an even fuller entering into the great spiritual heritage which is ours in Jesus Christ.

EPILOGUE

“CAN you picture the scene? The quiet of a country village; men, women and children gathered round the hand mill grinding wheat for the evening meal; the cry of terror as the raider power-dived on his mission of death; the falling bomb, the explosion, the mangled bodies the gaping wounds, the dead child lying by the dead mother—such was last week’s horror at S——

“When will it end? I wish I could put the question with so much force that it would haunt you by day and by night. It is not a question for us in Asia alone. It is your problem also. Suppose I were to sit complacently by in this life and death struggle fooling myself with the thought that it was not after all my war. Your contempt for my failure to identify myself with the suffering Chinese people would be immediate and deserved. You are further removed from the conflict than I. How else is your position different from mine?” (From the letter of a missionary.)

What are you going to do about it? Those who have read the foregoing chapters by my colleagues will have been moved not, I trust, to any hatred of the enemy, but to a deeper sympathy and admiration as the Chinese Church weathers the storm. We missionaries are in the thick of it. But so also are you, if this talk of the Oecumenical Christian Church is not merely a pleasant theme for conferences but something real. In his recent book written for the Madras Conference Dr. Kraemer points

out the solemn responsibility that should be felt by their parents, the Older Churches of the West, for the Younger Churches of Africa and the East. "Their numerical, material and spiritual strength is entirely inadequate to the demands of the situation. . . . As particularly exposed parts of the Universal Christian Church they have a very urgent and special claim on the effective solidarity of the parent Churches that created this position for them."*

In the crisis that Europe went through at the end of September 1938 prayer took on a new meaning to many. When we were trembling on the brink of war there was one thing that each individual man or woman could do. We felt so helpless, but there was the love and power of Almighty God. Every time Jesus spoke of prayer He seemed hardly conscious of its limitations but supremely confident of its possibilities—"Ask and it shall be given you." "But will it do any good to pray about China?" Just as much good as it did to pray about Europe. "China is so far away." No further from God than Europe. The point is, how much do we care? During this past year of considerable toil and strain (common to us all) I have personally never felt the presence of God so real and strengthening, made the more possible I am quite certain by the prayer of those at home who felt and cared. It is easier, of course, to pray about things we feel and people we know. But having read this book you can at least feel for China and pray for her Christians, her leaders in Church and State, for those who are causing her suffering and for your missionary friends and representatives in both countries. You can also pray, "Lord what wouldst Thou have me to do?"

What would God have us do? I remember hearing a

* Dr. H. Kraemer: *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*. Edinburgh Press, p. 39.

speech by Bishop Gore at Leeds in 1913 in which he used words I have never been able to forget. He was referring to the work of the Church in the world. He said: "We have been going about with an ambulance picking up the wounded when we ought to have been thundering at the gates of tyranny." How does one thunder at the gates of tyranny? I am not sure. We none of us feel very sure because we hate the methods even of police war, still more of power politics and international banditry that seem to give the tyrant such an advantage. But it would seem clear that to stop war and make real peace two processes must go on simultaneously. Individual men in considerable numbers must be changed, converted into whole-hearted servants of Christ and lovers of peace. At the same time we must remove the occasions for war and organize a positive system of settling disputes by peaceful methods of arbitration or the courts and, some would add, be prepared to compel the use of such peaceful methods if necessary by force, precisely as the police in a civilized state must do if it is to continue a civilized State. Only those who live in a world of anarchy and international banditry can realize that order and the rule of law resulting in security and freedom are a real gift of God and part of His purpose for mankind now.

It is a primary function of the Church and all its members to change men and make Christians. It may not be for the Church as such to take corporate action in the other sphere, but it may very well be the duty of Christians. To be specific. Is it possible for a real Christian to supply the Japanese military machine with oil and scrap iron and other sinews of war? That is precisely what some in England and America are doing; while the majority acquiesce. If all true followers of Christ would take corporate action for positive non-

co-operation in an endeavour to bring this iniquity and cruelty to an end, would not God take care of the rest? We have been going about with an ambulance picking up the wounded in China (some Christian people will not even give to relief funds because they fear it is "un-neutral") when we ought to have been thundering at the gates of tyranny.

But that is not all. There is a clear call for personal service to the Christian Church in China and Japan. When I was an undergraduate at a meeting in one of the College halls at Oxford a speaker from India appealed to us to volunteer and not be like the man who said, "Here am I, send him." The twist in the quotation made us laugh, but it made us think. Why is it that men and women are not volunteering eagerly for personal service in the Church overseas? In June of 1938 we appealed for twelve volunteer doctors to come from England and America for urgent war service in the mission hospitals. It is now November. So far none have come in answer to this appeal. Four have been selected in America, but there is no definite word from England. We had thought there would be a spirited response. Men and women are wanted for all kinds of service in the Church, still more for fellowship with our brethren here in their hour of need. They would be enthusiastically welcomed by Chinese leaders; in this country the personal touch counts for so much. Ambassadors are needed in both China and Japan for personal service through the Christian Church. Funds are urgently needed that they may bring relief to the wounded and homeless to whom they minister.

We who have come here in the service of the Church think it a great privilege to be in China at this time. We think those who have gone to Japan are having a harder time. But to go where God calls and to do what He asks

is the deepest, the only satisfaction and joy. To some we would say, "Come and join us." To others, "Make it possible for volunteers to come." That is what missionary societies and relief funds are for, but only a small minority of members in the Churches of the West support them. If the still, small voice of God has spoken to your heart in words that my colleagues and I have written, you will be quick to respond, whatever it may mean, and say, "Here am I, send me."

CHINA

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NINGHSIA

KANSU

SUIYUAN

Yenan

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HSIKANG

SZECHWAN

Chengt'u

Batang

Suifu

Chungking

KWEICHOW

Kweiyang

YUNNAN

Kunming

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KWANGSI

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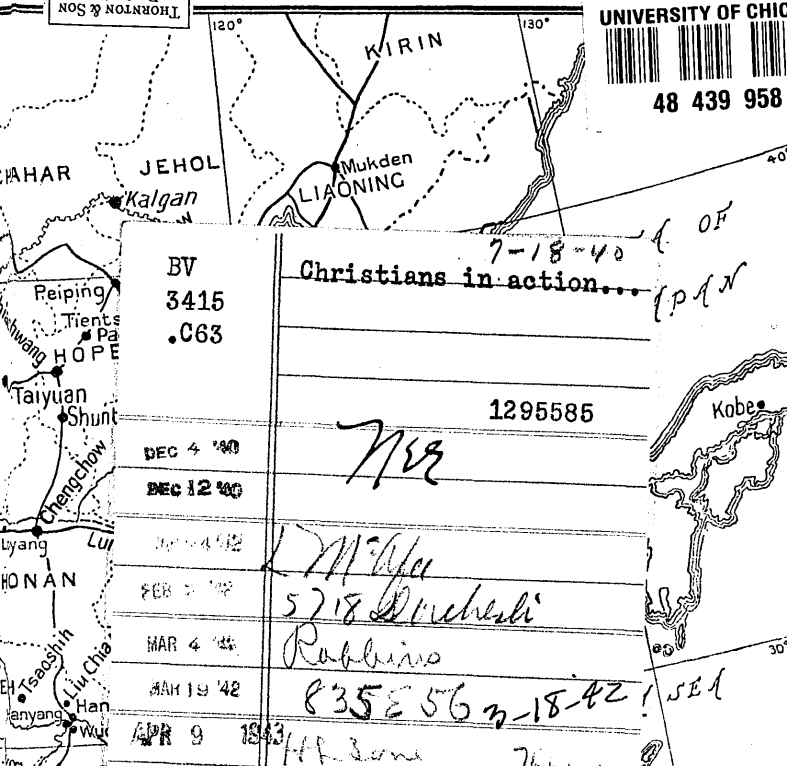
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